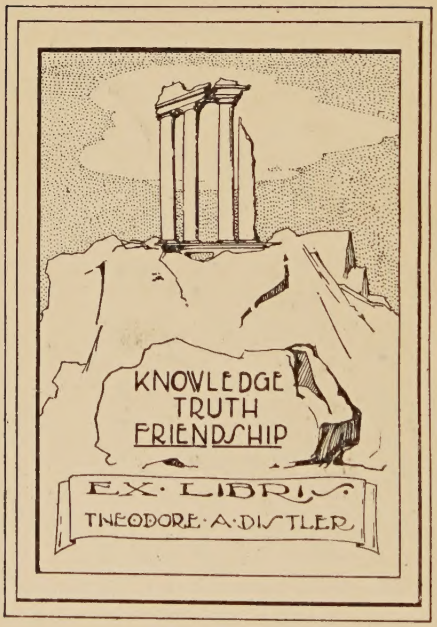
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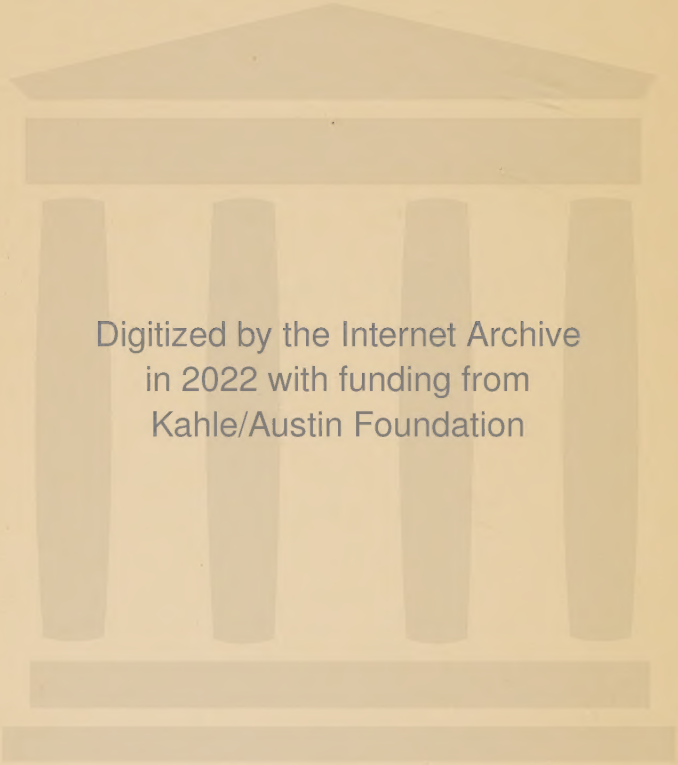

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LIFE IN COLLEGE

By

CHRISTIAN GAUSS

DEAN OF THE COLLEGE, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1930

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A

DEDICATION

In the practice of an unhappy profession I have sometimes been compelled to discipline young men at Princeton University for offenses against a moral or social code not always entirely identical with their own. One central fact saved this experience from being hopelessly distressing. In nearly every case the frankness, honesty, generosity and sportsmanship of these undergraduate "malefactors" was such as to make me conceive a higher opinion of mankind. To them this volume, the result of their experience and mine, is hereby dedicated in grateful recognition.

PRINCETON, N. J.,
October, 1930

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INTRODUCTION

THE modest purpose of this volume is to introduce the undergraduate upon the American campus to himself, to his friends, and more particularly to his parents back home. Perhaps I can best make clear how I have tried to do this by explaining what I have deliberately left undone.

In what aims to be primarily a presentation of the undergraduate and his way of life, I have not discussed the American university as a stimulating intellectual fellowship or an ideal educational institution. That might have involved me in another, a longer and a less indulgent volume. What I have attempted to say is, therefore, not addressed to professional "educators" and does not deal with complicated problems of academic control and management or with the arrangement of the curriculum or the proper teaching of particular courses. It is addressed to the ordinary reader, parent or undergraduate, who is curious about what actually goes on in the colleges, and it tries to confine itself to those human relationships and adjustments which every young man must make in the period of his apprenticeship to life.

I once asked a sophomore who was about to leave on an enforced vacation, whether he had anything to say. "Before I go," he replied with intensity, "there's only one thing I want to tell you. There are a lot of things that are wrong with this college." Unhappily situated as we both were, I could not help sympathizing with him deeply and

sincerely. He was quite right. There are a lot of things that are wrong with most of them.

This volume, however, does not aim to correct all this. I have a guilty feeling that in one respect it is almost unique. As a book dealing with an educational subject, it lacks something. It offers no cure for the many ills of our institutions of higher learning. We are told on every hand that the American college is facing a crisis. This is probably true, but it is also true that it has always been doing so. The present writer is afraid that it will probably not suffer any striking change as a result of this ordeal which has been almost constant. In any case, the main point with which we are concerned will remain forever the same. Parents at home will continue to be older than their sons on the campus and for that reason, prone to misunderstand them.

It has become almost customary to assume, even in educational circles, that the young man in the American college is a striking example of flaming youth, a sinister figure, a menace to the future of the republic and that somehow something ought to be done about it. If college professors had any courage at all they would show him his place and compel him to do a long and heavy penance. The writer does not in the least agree with this alarmist attitude but he freely admits that occasionally to meditate upon our sins is a wise course even for those of us who are older than college sophomores.

The present volume is, in a sense, such a meditation. As we have excellent authority for the belief that the sins

of the fathers are visited upon their children, the sins here discussed are not only those of the undergraduate. In larger measure they are the sins of American parents. As I shall explain in "Romance in College" I have felt under no compulsion to wash him white as wool. He is touched with frailties like as we are. The contention here set forth, however, is that his frailties are no worse than those of his elders, but only different.

In one sense this volume is addressed to young men. For them, human life, of which so much remains still unexplored, is far more interesting than abstract discussions about it. That is perhaps why they pay so little attention to them. This book, therefore, will be found to proceed largely by what jurists call the case-method. Instead of trying to lay down the law, it cites concrete instances; often alas, instances of failure which involve the violation by the student or his family of some cardinal principle.

Though I have known undergraduates in sickness and in health, in affluence and in poverty, in their triumphs and in their despairs, and though I have frequently had to probe for the causes of their unhappiness and their misdeeds, I have almost never found them rooted in what could honestly be called viciousness or depravity. There are many things which, as individuals, undergraduates can and should correct and I hope that what follows may help some of them to do this, but I have found in only too many cases that their most serious troubles can be traced back to parental unwisdom rather than to youthful per-

versity. It may be that I have not always successfully resisted the provocation to reform, but if this volume seeks to reform anything or anybody, it is the American parent.

The contents of this book fall naturally into three parts which I have called "Getting the Freshman Started, College Problems, and Problems of Parents." In the chapters which constitute Part I those questions are raised which must receive an early and satisfactory answer from the boy and from his parents if his four-year course is to be a success. Part II might have been called "Mistakes of Undergraduates" and deals with what are, more strictly speaking, campus problems and the attitude which the student takes or should take toward his work and play. Part III in its turn might have been called "Mistakes of Parents." In this section I sought to deal with parental foibles and faults more fully and frankly than had perhaps been done in the past. To give myself greater freedom, its first three chapters, now appearing as "Some Mistakes of Mothers," "Some Mistakes of Fathers," "Troubles at Home—Divorce," were originally conceived and written for anonymous publication in *The Saturday Evening Post* as "The Confessions of a (supposedly retired) Dean." In writing them I felt at liberty to draw upon my experiences in several institutions and occasionally to include cases which came directly to my attention in the days when I stood to the undergraduate in the more normal relation of teacher to student. The gratifying letters which were sent in by parents who felt that they had profited particularly by such a presentation have convinced me that this confessional form was the most effective for

the discussion of this delicate subject in which parental pride and susceptibilities are so deeply involved. With this explanation I offer a sweeping apology to all fathers and mothers whose feelings may be hurt.

The last chapter of the section, "The Code of the Undergraduate," aims to present those peculiar aspects of his ethics which lead to frequent misunderstanding on the part of parents as well as of the outside public.

The nature of our subject is such that in lieu of a formal conclusion, the book closes with "An Examination for Parents." In this way fathers or mothers who are interested may put to themselves clearly and sharply those questions which, in the writer's opinion, they must answer satisfactorily if they wish to co-operate wisely and to the fullest extent with a son at school or college.

The substance of the chapters in the body of this work has appeared in its first form in *Scribner's Magazine* or *The Saturday Evening Post* and the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the editors of those publications for permission to use this material. In some cases the titles have been altered and the material has been revised and rewritten, more fully to carry out the purposes set forth in this Introduction. The writer of course accepts full responsibility for any errors in judgment or weaknesses in presentation. He feels, however, that he has been allowed to come nearer realizing his aim through the courtesy of the officers of the University of Chicago Press, of Professor H. A. Millis, and of Doctor Walter J. Green-

leaf of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington, D. C. Professor Millis was the chairman of the Faculty-Student Committee of the University of Chicago, which studied "The Distribution of Student Time" and made what is probably the most comprehensive and most thorough report on this subject yet published. It is unfortunately already out of print. Its more important conclusions, which cannot fail to be helpful to any student who wishes to budget his time, are presented in Appendix I.

Doctor Greenleaf prepared for the Bureau of Education, of the Department of the Interior, the study on "Self-Supporting College Students," which deals with this problem as it presents itself in all American institutions of higher education. With his permission it appears as Appendix II.

One conclusion has forced itself upon me so insistently during the preparation of this volume that I cannot refrain from stating it here. I must agree with my unhappy friend the sophomore, that many things are wrong with the colleges and am willing to add on my own responsibility that some are wrong with the undergraduates. After all discounts have been made, however, it seems to me that the conduct of the average senior on the campus is on a somewhat higher plane than the conduct of the average man. Human nature under campus conditions seems capable of more generous responses than are generally evoked by our modern civilization. In some respects, therefore, I feel that the college student has been maligned. His

critics urge that conditions on the campus should be made to conform more nearly to conditions in the world outside, that he should be "educated for life," by which they mean usually for business life. Instead of attempting to force the college more narrowly into line with our social and economic system, I am compelled to wonder whether it would not be wiser, for a little while to have such reformers direct their attention to a study of our somewhat hugger mugger world outside with a view to bringing it a little more closely into accord with some of those finer aspects of human nature so frequently illustrated in the conduct of the average undergraduate.

Part I

GETTING THE FRESHMAN STARTED

CHAPTER I

SHOULD YOUR SON GO TO COLLEGE?

PEOPLE used to ask me far more frequently than they do now: "Should my son, John, go to college?" I always had to answer: "I do not know, because I do not know your son John."

The question was usually put to me when John was fourteen or fifteen years old. That is the time to ask it, then or later, not before. Now the question is asked, if at all, when John is still "Johnny," when he is three or four. At that time no one can tell, not even his parents. I know that there are persons, especially those of wealth, and sometimes even of college training, who answer this much earlier, the day that Johnny is born. They are probably making a mistake, but it is useless to argue with them. They do not then know their son and any satisfactory answer to this question is therefore as yet undiscoverable. One cannot solve this for the boy. One can only with patience, if one is wise, discover the answer in him, in his tastes, in what we sometimes call his personality. Until these have been disclosed during the process of the boy's development, parents should forget all about the problem. This means that they must defer their decision until the time when the boy is no longer Johnny and they call him John or Jack.

The only thing to do for a child in his infancy is to make financial provision for him; to put some money

away at compound interest, if possible. Where this is not possible, it is wise to take out some form of insurance which will provide funds that may later be called for. It is a serious mistake to tell him that you have made this "sacrifice" for his college course or to start the presumption of going to college in his mind. This will merely prevent the problem from coming up cleanly at the proper time and will prejudice parents and the boy in favor of what may be a regrettable decision. If you must discuss the matter with him, talk to him in terms of his education, of what he wishes to do, and not of his college.

The average total cost of a college education, when all items are counted, does not run much under ten thousand dollars. A recent writer has estimated the average outlay by parents for a son in college at fifteen hundred dollars a year. In the East tuition charges range from two hundred and fifty to five hundred dollars. Institutions where tuition is high make liberal provision for poorer students through scholarship aid or remission of charges. In State universities tuition is less, and in the Middle West generally living expenses are somewhat more moderate, and the cost of education there will run slightly lower. An investigation of amounts expended at the university and in the city of New Haven seems to indicate that the average undergraduate at Yale spends about eighteen hundred. At Yale there are many who "earn their way." There are also many sons of wealthy parents. It can, of course, be done for less but we are speaking of the average, and the Yale figures are probably not very far wrong. This estimate would make seventy-two hundred dollars

in all during undergraduate years. If you add to this what the college must give the student which he does not pay for, and what he might have saved during four years of productive employment between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, eight or ten thousand is not excessive. This sum, if invested wisely at a boy's birth, will help to make him comfortable for life and may give him as good a start as other boys will have with a degree. Furthermore, his proper education, even if he does not go to college, may take just as long, and you can be positive that the money will be useful. He may need it all the more if you decide not to send him to college, and in any case the certain value of that fund properly invested should always be balanced against the probable value of his college course. Every university official knows of many cases in which the sum of human happiness would have been increased and family relations much improved if a particular father had bought his son a ranch or farm instead of a college degree. In addition, the son would, in the long run—and life is a long run—have received a far better education. He would be gratefully devoted to his father, whereas they are now living in a series of unhappy wrangles.

II

I know that in the evening, under the lamp, there are long sessions between mothers and fathers as they pore over college catalogues. These sessions are not usually, as in Shakespeare, either sweet or silent. There is interminable discussion of "units of credit," "preliminary and final

examinations," "new plan and old plan," "comprehensives," etc., and in despair distracted parents scan the lists of certified schools. It is all, they say, too intricate and complicated. There are too many examinations and it is all made to hang upon the results of those last few crowded years of preparatory or high school—and just when John is beginning to go out into society! Yet it is really only in those years that the matter can be wisely decided. I know that there are many examinations, but I should still like to add one more. This one would have the advantage that it could be taken earlier and by others instead of by the boy himself. I would examine the parents upon their fitness to have a son in college and most certainly upon their qualifications to decide whether he should go there. Where parents fail to pass, the matter would be left for decision to the head master or to the high-school principal. It is not a question whether parents are or are not themselves college graduates. That has nothing to do with it. Indeed, such parents are often the worst sinners, since they do not have an open mind. The fact that they themselves have profited by going to college leads them to conclude that their son will inevitably do so. This is not always the case and parents are really qualified to decide only where they really know their son and his intellectual and temperamental make-up as it compares with that of other boys. In the altogether too frequent cases where they do not, it should be left to his teachers. There is a great deal of misunderstanding on this point. Parents have often come to me in deep distress to tell me they cannot tell about all this. They are worried

because they cannot follow their son in his work. I remember one mother who was near despair. She was afraid her son was slipping away from her. "Some of his studies I never even heard of," she explained. "I never studied Latin and he is reading Vergil. I don't know anything about equations or zoology. How should I be able to follow him?" It is well, of course, if parents do understand the boy's scholastic difficulties, but it is not necessary.

The most perfect relationship which I ever saw between a parent and a college son was that which existed between a Phi Beta Kappa man and his mother, who had been a poor immigrant woman. She knew nothing of the subjects her boy was studying, but she knew, sympathized with, and thoroughly understood him. She realized that he was happy in his books and studies. He went to her for counsel on all personal affairs and I have heard him tell me again and again that all that he ever did he owed to her. It is fortunately not always necessary that a parent should know the particular subjects a boy is studying; it is only necessary that he should really know the boy.

III

It is, however, unfortunately true that in our complicated age there are parents of social position (indeed, it is usually just such parents) who do not know their sons. I hesitate to generalize, but I am inclined to believe that the poorer parents of high-school boys know their children better than parents who have sent their sons away to preparatory schools and summer camps after they reached

the age or ten or twelve. Blessed, in this sense, are the poor. On the other hand, however, an equally qualified head master usually knows his boys better than a high-school teacher, for he has had better opportunities to watch them at play as well as at work. He lives with them all day long and he knows what choices they make when they are off their guard. How a boy employs his leisure and whether he seeks or avoids a library or laboratory in hours that are entirely his own, is quite as revealing and significant as marks obtained in tests and examinations. Many parents to-day can offer very little helpful information on these points.

Directors of admission can cite many cases of such parents which have been forced upon their attention. I remember very well a mother whom I saw on several occasions, but only when her son was in trouble. She could never understand and was always pressed for time. The tone she used was one which left no doubt that in all cases she blamed the college. She had a litany that ran about as follows: "I cannot understand why you should have difficulty with my son or why you should suggest that he better withdraw. We do not want him to withdraw. You know his father is a college graduate and we expect our son to be graduated here. I have given him every advantage. I have sent him to the X school. During vacations he has been in a summer camp and one summer I even sent him to Europe, on a personally conducted tour." Quite evidently the tour had not been personally conducted by the mother or father any more than his education had been. The boy was really a total stranger to both his

parents. This was the more regrettable as he might have given them much happiness had they known him. Around the college he was one of our favorite waifs. University officials had to see him frequently because he was often in trouble and we came really to enjoy the interviews. So did he. A summons had no terrors for him. He liked to talk about himself and after a time he occasionally came to see us even when not "summoned." It would have been the easiest thing in the world for anybody, even parents, to become acquainted with this engaging lad.

His history was as follows: He had, after much coaching, barely passed his entrance examinations. He had failed at the end of his first year in college and been dropped because of low standing. After much correspondence with the parents and a physician, the dropping was cancelled because of the boy's "ill health," and after a year's absence from college he was allowed to re-enter and repeat the year. I could never convince myself, in spite of the physician's diagnosis, that the boy was ever sick of anything but college. He admitted as much. He spent his year off, against his mother's protests, at work in a foundry in which the family had financial interests, and he had keenly enjoyed this work. He used to tell me about it and what "good eggs" some of the fellows in the foundry were and what fun it had been when they were pushing through rush orders. He wanted to remain. The boss wanted him to. But his parents had insisted that he return to college and his mother promised him an automobile if he would. He returned to please his mother and

he brought his new green car with him. Because of what was perhaps a congenital distaste for books he had been two years late in entering college and with the two years additional which he had lost he now felt out of place with his freshman classmates. He spent hours in his car going about to resorts frequented by the small "rah-rah" group of undergraduates to which he did not really belong and which he did not thoroughly enjoy. He was not "collegiate" in any sense, even the worst. He occasionally drank, as a great many boys do. He used to tell us about it frankly and would discuss some of these resorts with an unusually sensible man-of-the-world attitude. He smoked too much, for his fingers were often yellow with nicotine. He also spent hours "tinkering" with his car. He would become so absorbed that he would honestly forget all about his classes. There was nothing wicked about him. With his new friends and with the university officials he was frank, manly, and generous.

After repeated warnings and discussions, it was finally necessary to dismiss him. He had disliked regularity and hated compulsion, but only in college. In our farewell interview with him he was much relieved. He was going back to the foundry. He had felt "part of the show" there. He never did at college. He asked me to try to "fix it up" with his mother. I had some difficulty, for she still did not understand, and I had to hold my peace while she assured me that her boy was such a good boy (he was at bottom), that he never smoked, that he never drank, and that he had never caused her a moment's worry. Of course not! She simply did not worry about him! He was un-

happy at college because he was not by nature interested in what it could give. "College life" and not college itself was all that could possibly appeal to him on or around a campus. That was the reason for his lapses, for his inability to apply himself. Yet he was a fine chap; he needed no further social training and I would back him to win anywhere except in college.

Misunderstandings of this sort are all too frequent and far too often tragic. Among scores of such cases I remember one in which a boy had been planning to withdraw from college. He explained his situation to the university official with entire candor and frankness. He had been engaged for two years to the daughter of his family's next-door neighbors. He was deeply in love and not interested in studies. On the basis of his college and school record, either all signs would fail or he would in the near future have to be dropped from the rolls. A letter explaining the boy's scholastic difficulties was sent to the mother. A blundering university official had suggested in a postscript that perhaps his being in love played some part in his failure. The mother resented the university's intrusion. Under no circumstances was withdrawal to be entertained. As for his being in love it was nonsense. Far from being interested in any particular young lady, her son was not interested in young ladies at all. Two months later he eloped with this daughter of one of his mother's closest friends.

Both of these undergraduates had been unhappy in school and at college. They should not have been sent there. There is a simple rule for parents to apply which

I believe almost infallible. If a boy is unhappy about his studies in high or preparatory school, he should not be urged or encouraged to continue. If parents and teachers have to drive him through his work only in order that he may enter "with the rest of the boys," it will be a kindness to prevent him from torturing himself further for what will be a useless experience for him and an unnecessary expense for his parents. It sometimes takes not only common sense but courage to prevent a boy's doing this, for it is against the custom of the day; but the boy's ultimate education, his mental and moral health, and often his happiness as well, depend upon the decision.

I do not mean that boys should be coddled or that difficult tasks should be avoided. A difficult intellectual task is a challenge to the lad who is interested, if he is of the right sort, and it does not make him unhappy. Different types of boys respond to different types of challenge. It is nothing against them and they should be encouraged to develop their own proper sort of talent.

School and college should be happy years to all those adapted to them, and happiness in this sense is the surest index of psychological adjustment. We enjoy doing the things we are temperamentally qualified to do. If a boy does not enjoy study at school, he is not and never will be qualified for, or happy in, a college. It is a far surer test than entrance examinations, and college officials know that they must look for trouble, nervous and moral as well as scholastic, in the cases of unhappy undergraduates. Where there is incompatibility of temper between a lad and his school or college, in the interests of all concerned

and in spite of the social flurry all engagements should be broken and divorce made easy.

IV

In addition to the boy who is unhappy at school, there is another type of lad who should not be encouraged. This is the lad who is unwell, who shows signs of nervous instability, or who has some physical ailment and low resistance to disease. It is doubtful whether there ever was any "suicide wave" in the American universities. I believe, however, that nearly all college officials will testify that with the "rush to the colleges," there has been a considerable increase in the number of serious, distressing, and occasionally tragic cases of nervous trouble, resulting from general maladjustment. This is not because college courses have been made more difficult, but because parents are less careful about this question of adjustment and because many candidates who are physically disqualified now enter the colleges who twenty years ago would have remained at home under more watchful eyes and in the company of friends or parents.

Such a boy does not wish to lose his class and the parents do not wish to disappoint him. The life of a college to-day, even exclusive of its main business, study, is, to the young, strenuous and exciting. It demands even from the healthy a considerable effort of adjustment. In these new and stimulating surroundings the lad who is nervously or physically below par will feel his handicap far more seriously, often with grave consequences. Girls' colleges often demand from their applicants a careful

physical examination and medical history, by a competent physician. I believe this an excellent plan, for, in addition to excluding temporarily a few applicants who should not be subjected to the strain, it provides valuable information to university departments of health and hygiene in case they are called upon to treat this student later. I believe that men's colleges, although they may never be as rigorous as West Point and Annapolis, will come more and more to demand certificates of good health. One of the difficulties in this regard, however, is that the medical examination is not made by an impartial body like the College Entrance Board. The family physician is often more interested in obliging the parents than in giving the college a strictly accurate medical history or prognosis. Parents, however, should recognize the serious danger of sending to college the physically and especially the nervously disqualified. In a few cases the boy should not come at all. In a great many cases he should be given a year, not of idleness, but of healthy out-of-door work, to build him up and develop self-reliance before he comes to the university.

If a boy, then, is temperamentally disqualified by his dislike of study, or is disqualified by reasons of health, he should not come. There is another consideration which should weigh far more heavily than it does. If a boy otherwise qualified does not wish to come, that should end it. There is no better reason why he should remain away. He will almost never be a success, and college may do him harm.

The type of boy who makes acceptable college material

must be dealt with further in the next chapter, but in cases where parents of children in school are not closely acquainted with them and are doubtful about the wisdom of sending them to a university, they should discuss the matter not with the university authorities who do not know the candidate but with his high school or preparatory school teachers who do. In such cases they should leave the deciding vote with them. The most serious error of the average American parent is to believe that college is only four years more "of the same thing" that high school has been and that any boy who has finished a preparatory school course is a proper candidate for "higher education." Schoolmasters know that this is not the case. College work, should, and in all of the better colleges now does, call for a different type of intellectual interest. This has long been recognized in European education, and in some of the finest preparatory schools in England, like Winchester, only about forty per cent of the students who finish proceed to the universities. It is not a reflection upon a school that it cannot prepare some particular boys for college, for success there does not depend only upon preparation but in larger degree than is usually conceded, upon the character of that boy's native endowments and the bent of his mind and temper. Many earnest boys work to the utter limit of their capacity in high school trying to pass subjects for which they have scant aptitude. They do this often not because of any interest but out of a sense of pride in order to graduate and not to disappoint their parents. It is little short of a crime to drive or even to encourage such a boy to go to college. There some of the

subjects at least are likely to be more abstract and for this reason beyond his type of capacity and when the intellectual pace is quickened, he is certain to fall behind and must be dropped. This means that instead of starting life as one who succeeded in high school, he must start a little later as one of those failures who were dropped out of college. The teachers in high and preparatory schools are coming to realize this more and more. They know how a particular boy stands in comparison with other members of his class and age and can therefore advise wisely about his future course. It is often poor policy to drive such a boy through "college preparatory" courses and in most cases of this sort his last two years at least should be given over to subjects which will help to round out his own development and tend to prepare him not for college but for good citizenship in his community and for the type of work he will be able to do most happily and effectively. Where all the hundred members, let us say, of a graduating class in high or preparatory school proceed to enter college it is safe to predict that if the college is really a good one and worth going to about twenty-five of this group will fail of graduation. This is often tragic because such failure is not the result of lack of character or lack of application, but lack of that particular type of mentality which alone can profit by university training. One of the healthiest signs for American higher education is an increasing recognition of this truth on the part of high school principals and headmasters. They are beginning to advise parents not to attempt to send certain boys to college. Although they are, I believe, right in ninety-

nine cases out of a hundred, their advice, unfortunately, is not always followed. When parents become wise enough to accept it more generally much unhappiness and many failures in life as well as college will be prevented.

The first important point, then, is to decide whether a boy has the necessary aptitudes to make college a profitable experience. But how am I to know this, the distracted father or mother asks? The whole problem of college aptitude tests calls for special discussion but in the main the data which provide the answer to this question are fairly simple and readily available. It makes little difference whether a boy has finally been graduated from a high school or academy or whether the state university or college will accept his certificate. In nine cases out of ten what really tells the story is one simple fact. Where did he stand in his high school class? If he stood in the lowest third, then the chances are so heavily against him that unless he has a definite educational aim which can only be achieved by his going to college, he should not come. He is a poor college risk and if colleges were run like life insurance companies, they would not accept him.

V

The fact, however, that a son wishes to come to college, that he has the necessary intellectual and physical qualifications, should not end the discussion. There is one further highly important consideration. Parents should be sure that he wishes to come for the proper reasons. A boy will "get out of college" only what he comes for. If he comes to learn "to call forty men by their first names," he will

learn to do this glibly, but that is about all he will bring home, even if, after four years of skimping his work, he comes back with a degree. If he comes for opportunities in athletics only, he will develop only physically. If he comes to have a good time, that is about all he will have to show for it, except a number of unfortunate habits which it will take years to eradicate and which may help to disqualify him in the world's later, fiercer competition for success.

I believe there is one point which the public has failed signally to understand in the recent "rush to the colleges." Many have told us that this rush resulted from a deeper realization of the value of college education which was demonstrated during the war. It may be so in part. There is, however, another and a far simpler reason. Young men and young women prefer the society of other young men and women to the society of their elders. With the general obscuring of the colleges' original purpose and function, it has unfortunately become a kind of glorified playground. It has become the paradise of the young.

If, nowadays, you give a boy of eighteen the option of going into his father's office or of going to college, on the assumption that in every case they are equally good things to do, he will therefore in almost every case choose college. It is almost never true, however, that they are equally good things to do. We have tried to explain that it depends upon him. In many cases a continuation of education in college is certainly preferable, often necessary. If he really wishes to be a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, a scholar, it is absolutely essential. In a good many other

cases it is, however, far preferable, if you are thinking of your son's later success in life, that he should immediately put himself into harness and develop his sense of responsibility and begin his climb up the world's long ladder. This is what we have forgotten to-day. It is this simple psychological fact that resulted in an unfortunate rush for admission. It is quite generally assumed not only that college is just as good for every boy of eighteen, but that it is better in all cases, if he can manage, or you can manage, to pay his way. Of the six or seven hundred thousand young men now in college, not to mention the young women, it would possibly have been better in two hundred thousand cases, had they not come. Had the money which each of these boys will spend been invested for him and had he immediately entered the ranks of the economically productive and socially efficient, he and the world would have been far better for it. There is, of course, no reason why a boy who plans to enter the world of business should not go to college in case he is interested in further study even if he has no intention whatever of being a *professional* scholar or teacher. It will enhance the value of his later leisure and give him something to think about "when the long winter evenings come." Some of these men make our best undergraduates. But no father should urge his son to go to college for the social prestige it will give, or for any other reason than that for which the college exists, which is to train the mind by exercising it in study. If a boy does not care to study, a college course will not educate him and can give him nothing worth while.

But let us look at it as the candidate sees it. In most

cases, to his mind a degree is a highly valuable social and business asset. As college and business are generally presented as equally valuable, and indeed as college is often represented by parents and the public as always preferable, the only question for the boy to decide is where he will have the better time. Let us look into his father's office. The youngest man there, besides the office boy, is probably twenty-five. There are ten men ranging in age from twenty-five to sixty. None of them is of his own age. Then let us look at what college offers. He will for four years more be one of a group of four hundred or two thousand or four thousand young men, or young men and women; nearly all the friends of his own age will be there. He will, of course, decide to throw in his lot with them, especially now when there is less understanding between the generations. Youth goes toward youth and all youth drifts to the colleges.

We should be sure, therefore, that a boy not only wishes to go to college, for he almost invariably wishes to do so, but that he wishes to do so for wise reasons. In case he desires to prepare himself for a profession, he should, of course, continue. In case he loves to study and desires a further general education, he should also go. But if he has been dazzled by the glamour of college life or merely sucked in by the almost irresistible drift of our time, it is far better that he go to work.

Granted, then, that the boy has the qualifications and the proper desire to develop himself along university lines, there is the still further problem as to which college he shall choose. The boy's college is more important than his

clothes, but in both cases there should be a fit. There are about one thousand colleges in this country, all of them different, just as your boy is different from every one of a thousand other boys. Choose that one to which he is best adapted, but do so fairly early, a year or two in advance of his coming. If possible, go to visit the college you have in mind, before he matriculates. As we shall see later, there are reasons why you should not go with him when he enters in September. He should then be left to fight it out and begin to hunt his way by himself with his freshman classmates.

When Woodrow Wilson was president of Princeton a solicitous mother came in to see him on the busy opening day. She had probably not thought much about the problems involved and was worried as to whether it would be safe to trust her son to this new life, and whether he would have a good time. "Madam," said President Wilson, "we guarantee satisfaction or we return the boy." This is, or should be, true of all colleges. Remember, however, that it is the boy who should and must provide the satisfaction. Be fairly sure that he will do this before you send him. Then the college itself, even more than his classmates, will give him a "good time." You can then also rest assured that it will profit him. Where, therefore, you have been able to answer these questions of the candidate's fitness in the affirmative, cease worrying about him—send him with your fullest confidence and with your blessing.

CHAPTER II

THE FRESHMAN AND HIS FATHER

I ONCE had an unusual interview with a father. He was a distinguished professional man and, although his time was valuable and he had been forced to come a long way to discuss the situation of his freshman son, who had run into trouble, he did not begin by debating the technicalities of the case. Neither did he carry on as if the son had plunged his family into everlasting disgrace. "I suppose," this odd parent admitted, "that it's partly my fault, and I don't believe Jim is really a bad boy." He was right on both counts. "I don't see how," he continued with a rueful smile, "you professors can really expect very much of us fathers. Professionally, I am a lawyer. I studied law in college, then in an office; and I have now worked at it, week in and week out, for thirty-two years. Socially, I am a parent. I'll agree that this is quite as important a matter, but I haven't been able to spend nearly as much time over it, and I had no previous training whatsoever. Nature has not been friendly or wise in her arrangements. To every prospective father she should have given a few dummy children to experiment with before he is called upon to undertake the serious business of bringing up his own. You ought to realize more than you do that as parents we are all of us amateurs."

However this may be with parents, the freshman, too, has had no previous experience, and he has a right to en-

ter the same plea in his defense. He, too, is an amateur freshman. As a matter of fact, where he is dropped from college, both he and his parents do make this plea and tell you that if you give him a second trial he will do better. Unfortunately, they are in all probability mistaken. If they have had no previous experience, the colleges, as we shall see in "Why Students Fail," have had a great deal. Their records show that, except in cases where failure has been the result of illness or equally compelling cause, a boy who has failed once will probably fail again, if not as freshman, then as sophomore, junior, or senior. The chances are overwhelmingly against his ever being graduated, and unless we are to wander about in a muddle of amateurism and general tentativeness, somebody somewhere must buck things up, establish a standard and insist upon its being upheld. This disagreeable responsibility naturally falls upon the colleges. If, then, in this general feast of indulgence the parent will recognize that the college, too, has its claim, he will realize that the thing to do is not to plead for a second trial but to prevent initial failure.

In the preceding chapter we have tried to show in what ways a parent may assist his son in deciding whether he should or should not come to college at all. If after a son has decided to come to college, the father wishes to assist him, the first requisite, here also, is to know the boy. It is very generally assumed that there is nowadays much less distance and much more cordial comprehension between fathers and sons. It is true that there are fathers who play golf with their sons, and perhaps no undergraduate to-day ever dreams of addressing his father by the formal "Hon-

ored sir" of a few generations ago. But even in Victorian days there were enough instances of such close and comforting family ties to warrant Tennyson in telling us how many fathers he had seen who among their boys "wore their manhood hale and green."

In spite of many gratifying cases of this sort, it is probable that because of the rapid changes which have come over the manners of youth, there are fewer fathers who are thoroughly comfortable in the presence of their sons and their sons' friends than there were twenty years ago. However that may be, complete and sympathetic intelligence between them does not seem now to be the usual situation. Certainly it is not the condition which the college ordinarily discovers in cases where the son is in serious difficulties. In most cases of such regrettable aloofness, the father tells you in deep distress that he would like to know his son, if the boy would only give him the chance. The son, with equally keen regret, will tell you the same thing about his father. Each feels secretly hurt at the standing off of the other, and were the results sometimes not so pathetically tragic, they would both remind one of the Irishwoman who bitterly accused her neighbor for never coming to visit her; and to prove to that neighbor the enormity of her entirely one-sided neglect, self-righteously closed the discussion with: "If I lived as near to you as you do to me, I'd be over there all the time."

In general, however, it may be said that the advances should come from the father. Plainly he is more responsible for his son than his son is for him, and furthermore, it is easier for a man to understand a boy than for a boy to

understand a man. The grown man has once been a boy and has passed through the cycle of youth's experience, while the boy, of course, has never yet been a man. It is also true that we become hard-shelled as we grow older, we take on a certain set, develop a crust of habit which incases us. Though this protects the aging against some unwelcome contacts, at the same time it makes it more difficult for the young to approach or readily to understand them.

The young have no such protective cortex or repellent carapace; they are still easily open to impressions. In general, they take to parental advances and, where the parent is not too impatient and not too exacting, make gratifying response. In human relations, no one can give recipes that are invariably valid; there are, however, some occasions when it is easier than at others to make a seemingly recalcitrant son's acquaintance. It is, of course, useless to try to discuss important matters with him when he is dressing for a dance or hurrying to an engagement, or when the father is annoyed because the son has returned home too late. Really to make his acquaintance, it is necessary that both parties be in a receptive mood. Such moods in the young man's life come when pressure is removed; as for instance, in periods of illness, particularly of convalescence, when the call of ordinary concerns and distractions is no longer heard; he is a bit bored, craves company and is glad to talk of his hopes, his fears and plans.

I remember one case in which a father was called to the college infirmary to visit his son, who had been ill; he later told me that he was grateful for that illness, which

had ended without harm to the boy, because it had made him, the father, for the first time really acquainted with his own son. Once in a while a long clearing-up talk is necessary, and here the poor amateur father might well take a leaf out of the book of the professional psychoanalysts. Some of them tell us that they cannot take too seriously the first things that a patient tells them. These first statements are likely to have been prepared, are a bit too formal and dressed up to be really important. As the conversation begins, the boy is still too self-conscious; you must be patient, sympathetic and not obtrude outside problems or your own concerns. Encourage him to tell you more about it, for the longer he talks, the greater the chance that he is delving deeper into his real, if usually hidden, self, and eventually you may hit rock bottom.

It is a mistake for fathers to feel that they themselves must be up to the minute in order to understand a modern son. If a father is himself conscious that he has taken on the shell of age, that he is incurably old-fogy, that need not end it. There is one thing he can do that will in nearly all cases prove effective. He need only be good-humored and good-natured about it. If he is, he can still stand by his guns; there is absolutely no reason why he should not express his honest opinions and beliefs. He will find that he will be listened to by any group of normal young men, and they will discuss the questions he raises with a degree of understanding and interest that will surprise him. When talking with his own son, he must remember, however, that flat prohibitions and injunctions do not make for fellowship and are not nearly so effective

in the long run as decisions—quite possibly the same decisions—reached after full discussion by father and son in common.

It is regrettable that fathers who are deeply interested in their sons' progress frequently feel that they are forced to take a hands-off attitude for a reason that is, strangely enough, in contradiction with all the facts. I have a friend almost ideally qualified to act as an adviser to young men. Some months ago I twitted him for his seeming failure to take any interest in the progress of his own son at college.

He answered me with great earnestness and conviction: "Of course I am interested, but my case is extraordinary and unusual; I am not a college man, I know nothing about college life; I feel like a hen who has hatched a duckling."

Now there is no reason why my friend or the father of any undergraduate should have this feeling. As a matter of fact, his case was not extraordinary; it was not even unusual. This is only the ordinary situation in which the average father of the average undergraduate son finds himself to-day. At the older Eastern universities like Princeton, where there is relatively the largest body of alumni, the number of boys whose fathers have been to college before them is only about 30 per cent. At the oldest State universities, like the University of Michigan, it seems to average about 22 per cent. There are many more recently founded institutions in other sections of the country where not 10 per cent of the parents are college bred. If complete statistics on the fathers of present undergradu-

ates were available, they would probably show that the noncollege fathers outnumber those who are themselves alumni in the ratio of pretty nearly four to one. If fathers in general are to take an interest in their sons, such parents must realize that theirs is not only not an unusual situation but really the common lot. The possession of a bachelor's degree is not a certain guaranty that a father will be helpful to his freshman son. College professors themselves sometimes fail, and the son of an alumnus may quite as easily go wrong in college as the son of the minister is proverbially supposed to out in the world. Too much knowledge is here a dangerous thing, particularly when it is coupled with an equal amount of complacency.

Once a father has assured himself that a son has the necessary aptitude, the question of success in college really becomes one of ordinary morale and plain common sense. The final responsibility, of course, rests upon the boy, and he should be made to feel this; but his general attitude, which will be the deciding factor, may be almost indefinitely improved and success or failure made easy by the attitude taken toward him at home. In general it might be said that the father should treat him with very much the same kind and degree of interest as he would were the son associated with him in his own business or office. His personal problems should be matters of friendly concern and, where possible, he should, of course, be given advice and counsel. Failure by fathers to recognize this is so frequent that it is distressing. At eighteen it takes unusual morale to carry on at tasks not easy, when the results seem to matter so little to those whose opinions matter most.

In many cases, the son, off on his own for the first time, fails to discharge his responsibility toward those at home. Only too frequently he accepts heavy sacrifices without any sense that he has incurred any special obligation toward those who made them. He lives far more lavishly than need be and fails to embrace the opportunities for which alone they sent him, or to conduct himself in that way which their trust in him should make imperative. Dazzled by his new freedom, he is concerned only that they should never learn of his breaches of the faith. That is why incorrigible freshmen of this type, when detected, plead that no letter be sent home, and that is why—disagreeable as it is—partially to establish the moral balance, in colleges concerned with student conduct, some unhappy official must write to those who have been imposed upon and warn them that if the boy persists in such misconduct he will be dropped. Whether the fault lies with the freshman or with his father, the too frequent evils of this sort can only be prevented—and indeed are rendered impossible—where there is a continuing relationship of really friendly understanding and no resistance is offered at either end to the transmission of those sympathetic currents of which the family should be the generating cell.

It is, of course, true that a boy should be on his own at college. This does not mean that relations between him and his father should be severed. It does mean that he should be trusted to make his ordinary day-by-day decisions. This must naturally involve considerable freedom and responsibility. The freshman's individual purchases should not be discussed with him and he should not have

to write home in case he feels that he needs another cravat or three new tennis balls. In general, the father should not pay the boy's personal bills. The freshman should do this himself, and in all cases where the father is paying the expenses, he should place the boy on a reasonable allowance. This financial question causes much difficulty and calls for special treatment. All we can say here is that a satisfactory allowance can probably not be finally fixed before the boy arrives on the campus. After the necessary items of expense are known, it should be set to cover them, with an additional sum for spending money which necessity may have to make small, but which as we shall see in a later chapter, should probably, in no case run to more than fifty dollars a month. Some of the misunderstandings here would disappear if the son realized that the father, too, is usually on his own and that he has, after all, only a limited and pretty much fixed amount which he is free to spend, even upon his son in college.

There are, of course, many fathers who are either naturally indifferent or so preoccupied with their own business or professional concerns that they are unwilling or feel unable to give time or thought to their sons' problems. Sometimes, even where there is a real interest, it is not consistent, but fitful. It comes in flashes, and it may happen that such a flare-up of interest will break out at a moment that is inopportune. One of these moments is the day of the opening of college. On no other occasion will there be more distracting demands upon the freshman. The father will be really an encumbrance, the son will literally have no time for him. The parent's presence

merely creates a source of new embarrassments for both. This is equally, perhaps even more, true of mothers. The opening of college is emphatically not a propitious time for parental presence. A week or a few weeks later a visit might not be out of place, and, as nearly all colleges have an advisorial system, on that occasion the father should make it a point to call upon the son's adviser.

Professors—particularly those chosen to act as advisers—are really quite human and appreciate such ordinary tenders of interest. This so-called adviser, counsellor or class officer, stands *in loco parentis* to the entering freshman, and the latter is free to consult him on all college or even personal problems. He is usually pleased to act as liaison officer between the boy and his home, and on academic matters such as the selection of the young man's courses is probably far better qualified to advise him wisely than even a father who is an alumnus, but whose knowledge of the curriculum dates from thirty years before. Such advisers gladly receive any information concerning their new protégé, and the only trouble with the system is that usually the freshman who would profit by it most never goes near this available counsellor until he is already in serious difficulty with the college authorities, and then comes only to ask his friend at court to plead for mercy which, at that late stage, is either impossible or ineffective. It is wise, therefore, even for the father on intimate terms with his son to encourage him to make and cultivate this officer's acquaintance.

In spite of the better terms on which faculty and students live to-day in nearly all universities and colleges, the

freshman is still likely to feel strange and diffident. He does not like to force himself upon his elders. There is a gulf between him and other undergraduates, even the sophomores. He lives too largely with his own classmates, and life in too exclusively adolescent a society is not best calculated to stabilize the young or induct them into that social maturity which is, of course, one of the goals of education. It is this too exclusively adolescent character of American college life that also results in that general range of excesses known as "the collegiate." Colleges have long since learned that a dormitory in which a few not-over-finicky faculty members are domiciled is likely to be quieter than one in which all the occupants are eighteen or twenty. The presence of age has a sedative effect, and where this is not made oppressive, it is generally for the best. It may therefore be said that to maintain contact with one or two members of an older generation has a normalizing and maturing influence upon the young.

One of the most frequent blunders of parents is to feel that they must keep hands off with regard to the boy's personal habits and his college life, but that they must advise and direct him in the choice of the subjects he elects to study. The exact opposite is really the case. When a boy has any interest in college, he will have preferences and intellectual curiosities which it is entirely legitimate for him to gratify. If the father can persuade him to discuss his choices seriously with his faculty adviser, the result will in all human probability be far more satisfactory than if the father prescribes or dictates. With distressing frequency cases arise where an undergraduate is clearly in

the wrong department and attempting to pursue studies for which he has no natural bent. When, because of his failure, he is called in by a college official, it is found that he is studying economics or psychology because his father insisted that he should. The father had somewhere been told that these were the best and most useful subjects. It would obviate considerable bitterness and many failures if all parents understood, once for all, that there is in the abstract no one best course or department.

All that we can say is that the best course for any given boy is the one which best suits that particular boy's intellectual aptitudes. These the son and his adviser are much more likely to know than the father. Most colleges and universities are far more sensible than they used to be in this respect and no longer throw open their entire curriculum to the entering freshman, as they did under the free-elective system. They have wisely restricted his range of choices, and by so doing have made the first-year course pretty nearly foolproof. Where this is true it is a simple matter to allay a boy's fear of making any damaging mistakes. It is, of course, important that he give serious thought to the choice of his subjects, and that he choose within the range of his own interests or later needs. But there is something of the horse trader in all of us. We are likely to prefer the animal or the opportunity that the other fellow has to our own. The repeated complaints of a son that his courses are always more difficult than his roommate's should not be taken too seriously. He must sometime learn to abide by his own choices, and it should also be made plain to him that if those choices

are made within reasonable limits, what particular courses he elects to study is not really as important as the way he studies them.

There is, of course, no reason why a father should feel that a freshman son is slipping away from him or that he is losing touch with him because the son is taking Greek and the father never studied it. All that any father need do in such cases is to have sufficient confidence in the boy and the institution to believe that nothing the college honestly teaches him, or the boy seriously studies, can really do him any permanent bodily or spiritual harm. Two brothers, one of them a lawyer, the other a doctor, may live in the most perfect fraternal relationship, and yet one will have studied law and the other medicine. The only thing necessary to understanding and happiness is the preservation of that human bond which makes all the world kin and which draws those of the same flesh and blood even closer together.

We come now to the crux of the whole matter; a thing that should really be elementary and is essentially simple. What the father should be most interested in and the phase of the freshman's life in which he could be most helpful is really that one from which he often shrinks with a sense of helplessness. This is the matter of general attitude and the manner in which his son lives, how he distributes his time, whether he "keeps his desk clear," and the character of his amusements—in other words, his college life.

A number of stories of campus life have been appearing in recent years. A few of them are unfair and sensational,

but many are excellent and sound. Nearly all of them quite properly portray those aspects of the college which are distinctive and different from the world outside. They give its local color. Sometimes they talk about secret societies with unintelligible Greek names like Alpha Beta Gamma, Tri Chi or Phi Beta Kappa. They deal with odd college customs, queer taboos and a hundred ingenious and outlandish forms of hazing. All this has misled the general public and, quite naturally, has nonplussed parents; particularly those who have not themselves gone to college. It has shrouded the life of the undergraduate in mystery. He comes and goes trailing clouds of incomprehensible glory. College has become something deeply arcane which no outsider can understand, while a college son, in certain circles, becomes a kind of thirty-third-degree Mason about whose secrets a parent must not venture to inquire. Yet all this is not difficult to understand. A boy who is known as a "good Elk" will probably join a society or club at college, as his father does at home. The only difference will probably be that the son's club will strike the father as far too expensive. From the freshman's standpoint, if this club has a Greek name, so much the better. Nobody wants everybody to know what goes on at his lodge. The freshman joins it for the same reason that his father joins the Elks or Knights of Pythias or the Fraternal Order of Eagles at home. The secrecy need upset no one. The oldest of the Greek-letter fraternities is Phi Beta Kappa, founded at William and Mary in 1776. It is an honorary society, and to it, only the best scholars can belong.

One of our country's most distinguished scientists, who is himself a member, asked me the other day what the Kappa in Phi Beta Kappa stood for. He was embarrassed because he didn't know. I was embarrassed too. I didn't know either. We were a little ashamed, as was quite proper, but there was no reason for making too much of our predicament. Many country clubs have outlandish Indian names. If you asked a group of members in good standing what the name meant, they could not tell you. It may be a perfectly good and quite harmless club just the same. So is it with many of these seemingly mysterious, but otherwise quite innocent, college organizations. They do not differ essentially from those in the world outside, and the problems connected with membership and a wise attitude toward them are much the same.

However, such things are only the gim-cracks and frosting of college life. The freshman does not live on local color. He eats roast beef and potatoes. Sometimes he eats and drinks what he should not, just as he did at home; and if a son writes that he "shot a jigger," it is not cause for immediate alarm. He only means that he bought an ice-cream soda at the corner drug store. Even though they never admit it, some of them sleep, too—particularly in the morning, if you let them—just as they did at home.

After all, the ordinary human motives and considerations which govern life in this mad world of ours govern life in the college community. So far as the boy is concerned, there is only one thing of importance that should be different. He should study. The proper distribution of student time is more fully discussed in Appendix I, but

if you ask your son for an hour-by-hour statement of his week and find that he is not sleeping eight hours a night and spending at least six on his books and classes, then you should worry. He should too. His life is probably only too much like what it was at home during vacations. But aside from his work, and, indeed, including this very item, the essential and important questions which face the boy, and in the solution of which he needs parental sympathy and encouragement, are precisely those which once faced the father thirty years before. That is why there is really nothing inherent in the situation of the boy at college that should create or widen any breach with his home.

There is something to what my odd friend, the lawyer, told me about the disabilities of amateur parents; and yet, like a lawyer, he had blackened the case against Nature just a little. As a matter of fact, she has given to every father one child to experiment upon. That child need not even have been a dummy.

It was the boy which the father himself once was, and if the father would only remember his own youth, and boyish errors, a full half of the misunderstandings between parents and college sons would disappear. Since, however, so many fathers forget or deform their past, it is perhaps worth while to remind them of certain don'ts which they themselves would have indorsed heartily at eighteen, and which, in spite of changes in outward forms, sons in college will indorse even to-day. If these cautions are observed, they will eliminate some of the more frequent causes of conflict and make for closer co-operation between fathers and sons who should normally

be only the senior and junior partners in every college education.

DON'TS

1. Do not write to him in an advice-to-the-lovelorn key.
2. Do not let your letters run exclusively to your own troubles. Give his a chance to flower and fade.
3. Remember that advice is not good as a steady diet. It is effective only as a tonic, and as such, most effective if administered in imperceptible doses.
4. Do not begin to show your interest in him by criticising his friends. There is no point on which he is, or should be, more sensitive.
5. Respect a sense of loyalty wherever you find it. It will be easier later to transfer it to worthier objects than to create one in a boy deficient in this regard.
6. Do not "ride" him. He does not like to be ridden.
7. Do not "boo" his enthusiasms.
8. Do not always be sorry for him. Enjoy his college with him, and if he is already so inclined, do not encourage him to believe that he is a "sad bird" or a "wet smack."
9. If you find some of these expressions vulgar, do not dismiss the matter entirely. They may be your own son's vernacular. If you do not understand some of them, it may be a sign that you have not allowed him to talk himself out freely to you.
10. Do not bother about repeating to him how much more seriously you took life at his age. Once is enough, and you may possibly be wrong.
11. Do not expect him to get over being young after one remonstrance from you. Even in normal cases it takes years perfectly to effect this transformation.
12. Remember, in general, that he was a sensible man who said that the best way to get rid of the tadpole's tail is not to cut off the tail but to feed the tadpole.

CHAPTER III

CRABBED AGE AND YOUTHFUL SPENDERS

A FATHER had come down to the college to discuss with me the financial difficulties of his son whom he regarded as totally lacking in practical sense. I later found that "totally" excessive. I recall the episode as having happened on the morning when Henry Ford's statement on economy appeared in the papers. Mr. Ford had said that "no successful boy ever saved any money." In the train on his way down, the father had evidently read that statement without relish and in the course of our talk, after a pause and apropos of nothing, he broke out with, "Did you see that amazing statement of Ford's?" I said nothing. "Well, I can afford to smile about that," he went on. But he did not smile, he only grinned sardonically. "My boy beat him to it. He never saved any money. He has been taking that advice long before Henry Ford ever gave it to anybody." He glared at me as if it were partly my fault. I still said nothing. What was there to say? The father continued. "I give him more than enough, but I'm down here again to straighten out his accounts. I don't think that's a sure sign he's going to be a shining success. Do you?" I wanted to think it over and fought for time, so I admitted that perhaps there might be something to what Mr. Ford said and was sorry that I could not agree offhand with this father and he was sorry that I seemed to agree with Henry Ford. It was still, however, all highly tentative.

I have since pondered Mr. Ford's statement and have followed the discussions about it and about. Hard heads and practical men generally lined up against him. We were not dollar chasers, they said, but neither could we afford to encourage our young men to be reckless spenders, and the balance of opinion seemed to swing pretty steadily and strongly in favor of the father.

In his effort to justify the soundness of his advice Mr. Ford made things worse. He pointed to himself and to Mr. Thomas A. Edison. Neither of them as boys ever dreamed of saving. They spent everything they could lay their hands on until suddenly they discovered with a shock, of disappointment almost, that money was pouring in on them so fast that they just couldn't find time to spend it all, and this in spite of the fact that Mr. Edison sleeps only three hours a night. Of course such explanations did not satisfy the defenders of "a penny saved is a penny earned." Thrift, they hold, is a virtue necessary for success. There must be at least some margin of saving and all this is sheer ruinous wastrelism. It will make boys imagine that money grows on every bush and that business, invention and industry are bottomless conjurers' hats. The world's failures and bankrupts on this theory are only those who lacked the courage to keep on spending long enough. The problem stated in this fashion is evidently stuffed with paradoxes rather than with common sense. But before we begin to apply it to college students, one thing should be remembered by them and is worth their pondering. Neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Edison ever matriculated at any university and

neither of them ever sat up nights trying to wangle money out of father. The conjurer's hat that Mr. Ford was thinking about was in any case not the allowance from home.

Among the million undergraduates now in the colleges there are, of course, many, all too many who are quite willing to impose upon over-indulgent parents. Such parents need to be protected against their children and their children against them. So long as they continue to exist the best the colleges can do is to apply a little palliative advice and deal with parents as they are. Cornell University, for instance, like many other institutions, realizes this and earnestly cautions fathers and guardians against "providing their sons and wards with an excessive amount of pocket money. . . . Over-indulgence in that respect has been the means of undoing many a young man's university career." It takes time to spend money, even foolishly.

Now, the father who had come down to see me was not a great sinner in this over-indulgent class. He is, furthermore, an old college friend. But as a parent he suffers from another very serious disability. He is middle-aged. It is a disability so general, so well-nigh universal, among the parents of undergraduates that it is almost never recognized. My middle-aged friend was forced to deal intelligently and sympathetically with a freshman of nineteen. This is a more difficult task than even most parents can imagine. No two ages are better calculated to repel each other than the late teens and the early fifties. This, however, is the usual spread of years between the

boy in college and the father at home. Even grandfathers are more likely to understand their grandsons. A sister a few years older almost always has a far juster estimate of her brother. That is why before a father chastises or reproves a college son he should always consult the boy's older sister if the boy is lucky enough to have one. Such was not the case here. Yet many of the difficulties between this father and his son had their root in a difference of ages. The man of middle age is still fighting off his youth. When the father launched into his diatribe against Henry Ford it was really because he was disapproving in his son certain tendencies to extravagance which he was combating in himself with a lurking bitterness and which he had not yet quite conquered. He still had a little of the spender in him and psychologists might find at the bottom of his attitude a hidden, ugly jealousy of which he would have been thoroughly ashamed. He disapproved of prodigality certainly both in himself and in his son. He would honestly and indignantly have resented it had I told him that he did not like to have his son do so much of the spending because he still liked to do a little of it himself. He would have resented it because he is quite unconscious of this fact and it all takes place below what the psychologists call the threshold of consciousness. Yet we who are middle-aged are all dangerously like that. Grandfathers are usually more sympathetic because that conflict is over. They have usually settled back into an almost invariable economic routine and they see youth in perspective. With no disrespect whatever we may say of Henry Ford that

in contrast to the ordinary father he is taking the grandfatherly attitude. He has no lurking bitterness against the seeming prodigality of his boyhood. That prodigality worked out satisfactorily and it now troubles him no longer. He probably did regret during all the years of struggle in early manhood that he had been unable to amass any savings. But that time is now long past. His backward vision is not clouded by any personal repinings and in the cleared mirror of his past he has come to see his youth as it actually was. We may, therefore, admit that in his own particular career the lack of early savings placed him under no lasting handicap. Furthermore as compared to most men and all undergraduates, Henry Ford is fortunate in having some part of his future behind him. I do not mean in years. I mean in achievement. A man's future lies in his own dreams and he has already made many of his dreams come true. This, however, takes care only of the case of Henry Ford. What my friend and what the ordinary parent wishes to know is where does my son stand on this question of extravagance.

It is impossible to tell at precisely what point extravagance begins in the case of any particular young man in business or at college. You cannot say that Johnny Jones is extravagant just because he spends upon himself $200 or $400 or $1,200 or $2,000. To say this you must know Johnny Jones and his father. If he is in college you should also know which college, though this is not so important since reasonable expenditure in colleges generally is more nearly a constant than it is on the various

social and economic levels in different parts of our country. If a young man while still at college desires to cut a swath in Boston or New York or San Francisco society circles, this costly aside should in no case be counted as part of his academic expenses. If a normal boy living at home attends college in his own city his expenses will, of course, be raised by all university charges and some reasonable allowance should be made for his books, for college activities and diversions. The problem changes in character somewhat when the young man goes away to one of the small towns in which the state universities are frequently situated or to one of the residential colleges. They constitute more or less self-contained social units in which the students themselves to a larger degree set the standards of expense. These standards, of course, must be taken into account in computing a budget.

In strictly college towns it will, of course, be the college standard which pervades the community. In a survey made by the General Education Board of teachers' salaries in some 300 colleges of arts, literature and science, it was found that the average salary of all ages and ranks for the year 1926–27 was $2,958. Since most professors are married and have families, this must be rated as a family income in a college community and if undergraduates learn extravagance it cannot fairly be charged that they learn it from the example of their professors. This survey indicated another fact which has some bearing on our problem of student expenses. It showed that the average teacher's salary varied in different sections of the country. It stood highest in New England with $3,385

and ranged downward through $3,214 in the Middle Atlantic States; $2,960 in the Western States, $2,805 in the Middle West to a low of $2,660 in the South. These differences probably indicate approximately the different standards of living costs in college communities of these respective sections. If you divide the teacher's family income in half and subtract $400 it will give you a rough and ready estimate of what the young unencumbered college student can live upon comfortably in these same sections. Tuition in some state universities is free, whereas in some privately endowed institutions it may run as high as $500, and where there is such a charge a corresponding addition must be made to this basic figure.*

The colleges themselves often give suggested schedules of expenses which tend to correlate roughly with the figures arrived at by this computation. Yet these schedules frequently cause misunderstandings for two reasons. They usually, and very wisely, omit items like travel, clothing and personal expenses for which the parent does not adequately provide. They often, less wisely, have a tendency to make their clients believe that the college provides education at bargain prices. The few estimates which follow are probably as fair as any and are merely given as representative of the various sections of the country. Tulane University at New Orleans gives $580 as a "conservative estimate of expenses." The University of Virginia runs to a "liberal" of $850. In the Middle West,

*For a fuller discussion of expenses in State Universities see *Annual Student Expenses in State Colleges and Universities* by Doctor Walter J. Greenleaf, published by the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, 27894, December, 1928.

the University of Michigan gives as first year expenses in the academic and business departments $763 to $803; the University of Wisconsin from $375 to $925. In the far West, the University of California catalogue warns "that the ordinary yearly expenses of a student in the academic departments including general expenses are probably at least $800" which may be taken as a low rather than a liberal estimate. In the universities given above tuition is free or a relatively small charge. In those which follow it will run between $350 and $450.

Stanford University at Palo Alto states a medium of $864 and a high of $1,320 for the student who attends three of its four quarters.

In the Middle Atlantic States the University of Pennsylvania, allowing $100 for clothes and $160 for incidentals but nothing for travel, gives an estimated average expenditure for all students of $1,245. Princeton, in New Jersey, with more serious omissions, gives a liberal of $1,231.

In New England, Brown University, at Providence, states the cost to a boy occupying a room with a roommate as from $730 to $1,075 and Williams College in Massachusetts suggests for "the most essential expenses" from $925 to $1,380. These most essential expenses make no provision for travel, clothes or spending money, and unless otherwise indicated, after the necessary addition to take care of them, I believe that for a residential college in the East, the Williams schedule provides a fair estimate of what college may cost the young man whose father is fully able to pay his way.

The catalogues of many institutions like Harvard, Yale, Cornell and Columbia no longer give estimates of low, medium and liberal expenses. In the colleges that make them there is usually much footless discussion between parents and undergraduates and the college officials. Undergraduates set up different sets of figures and parents wish to know what total sum the "average student" spends. A few years ago figures were printed indicating that at Dartmouth the average yearly expense was $1,600, and recently undergraduates and college dailies at Yale, Harvard and Princeton have discussed the question. An editorial in one of them concluded that the average freshman there spends about $1,950 and the senior, $2,200. The one fact worth consideration is that the senior usually spends more than the freshman. The senior is older and more is expected of him. But if the college estimates of average costs run too low, these undergraduate estimates are correspondingly too high. Both are of very little value to the conscientious parent. There are a few boys who come without funds who earn their way, and who spend little or nothing. There are a few who spend $6,000 to $8,000 a year. The former, as a rule, are by far the better academic citizens but not all of them are successful. Parents and older friends frequently urge a boy who has no savings whatever and no source of outside support immediately to go on to college. This should almost never be done and only in cases of an exceptionally bright boy with a rugged physical constitution. Even then it may be a mistake and it is far safer to advise such a boy to work and save for a year or two or to loan

him at least a few hundred dollars. I believe that all colleges that have seriously considered this problem now advise boys against entering without funds. The University of Michigan cautions students "against undertaking so much outside work as to interfere with their studies or injure their health. It is generally inadvisable for one to attempt to pay all of his expenses by working at the same time that he is going to college." If students feel they must attempt this they are urged to take a lighter schedule of studies and a longer time to complete their college course.

The statement from the University of Nebraska reads: "A student is advised not to enter the university unless he can count upon resources for one semester—at least $300—and preferably sufficient funds for his first year."

Stanford University in California sums up the situation in the following sensible fashion: "The student is advised not to enter the university without a reserve fund to provide for immediate needs or unexpected contingencies. This fund ordinarily ought to amount to at least $250, although it is preferable for new students to have a larger sum." The student, it goes on to say, needs time to get acquainted, to become adjusted to university methods and requirements, to systematize his university work, to learn about the various opportunities for earning money, and to discover how much time he can afford to devote to self-support and besides keeping in good health still make study his main object. He should not undertake to earn more than absolutely necessary, "for his time is too valuable for this and should be devoted to his studies to

the largest extent possible. It is recommended that no new student plan to devote more than four hours a day to earning his expenses." This advice is sound. It should be carefully pondered, for heartless as it may seem to be discouraging on this score, financial strain will be frequently found as one of the causes of "Why Students Fail," which must be treated in a later chapter.

At some institutions like the University of Minnesota as high as 60 per cent of the undergraduates report themselves as earning a part of their expenses. They constitute a class by themselves though many of them merely take an odd job now and then to increase their spending money.* At the older colleges in the East where tuition is high very liberal provision is made for deserving and needy students. There are many scholarships which pay more than the tuition charge and at Princeton, for instance, over 400 men, or one student in every five, is receiving aid from the university. To reach any mean or median, the conscientious statistician would have to have more accurate accounts of undergraduate expenses than are now obtainable and he would probably exclude the lower and upper 25 per cent. Even a median, thus arrived at, would not solve the problem since there cannot be a common denominator for items like travel. A boy living on the Pacific coast who comes East to college and makes two trips home would have to add $400 which need find no place in the budget of the boy living nearby. The cost of clothes likewise is almost incommensurable. A few years ago the coonskin coat at an initial cost of

*On this whole matter of "working one's way" see Appendix II.

from $200 to $600 was regarded as standard equipment by the sport model type of undergraduate. Many were entirely happy but a few hopelessly envious and dejected without one. A large number of undergraduates would, however, tell their fathers that "everybody" was wearing one. Its vogue has passed even among its erstwhile votaries. It would be pleasant to believe that it was discarded because it was expensive. I am afraid this had nothing to do with it. Some undergraduate must have noticed that young men in business and about town did not go about in such Eskimo-ish gear. He probably felt it was a bit "rah-rah." Then somebody said "collegiate." That ended it and it began to give way to the more genteel black derby and the Chesterfield. Such changes are rapid and frequent. If undergraduate estimates are too high it is because in every college there is a certain group of this sport model type. They are by no means one-half or even one-third of the college, yet they are much in evidence and set a pace in spending. They are likely to be regarded as "average" by envious classmates whereas they are above the average in their expenses and usually below in all other respects. Even if one could be accurately established, there would be another drawback to the budget of this "average undergraduate." For all practical purposes there is no such animal. The conscientious father must be interested in his particular son, Percy, or Jim, or Joe, and must know his individual habits, tastes and needs. If he cannot tell his own son from an abstraction like the "average undergraduate," there is little hope for a successful relationship between the boy and his home.

This formidable array of college expenses in various parts of the country will, however, of itself give the general reader a thoroughly misleading notion about the importance of finance in the life of the college student. I believe it is fair to say of the American undergraduate that the possession of money as such is a less important element in his happiness than normal relations to his home and family, the respect and esteem of his classmates and at least some degree of success in either extracurricular or curricular activity. Success in any one of these three phases of his life may be sufficient to keep even a poverty-stricken boy cheerful and on an even keel. Serious failure in any one of them may result in that sense of defeat for which there is no cure. There are boys who have distilled enough self-esteem to be accounted happy out of the fact that a poem of their creation has been printed in the college literary magazine, that they have played a minor part in the college play or that they have finally won the position of second substitute second baseman on the college nine. I have even known a grind, a "poler," a so-called "sad bird" who never made a fraternity or club, who drew so deep and pervasive a gratification out of his ever-growing sense of mastery of his studies that the sympathetic interest of one young instructor satisfied his only remaining needs. One of the most consistently and imperturbably happy undergraduates I ever knew never received a penny from home and contributed to his family's support out of his earnings while at college.

There is no reason why the more money minded public

should imagine that the bright boy who is earning his own way in large part is necessarily having an unhappy time of it. There is, alas, some social snobbery on our campuses. Family counts for something. Members of a nationally known and otherwise distinguished Greek letter fraternity have told me that years ago in their chapter in the Middle West a boy could not be taken in if his father was engaged in retail trade. Though within a narrow range this stupid prejudice exists, one of the finest things that can be said about the American colleges is that economic democracy pervades them all and in the best of them it governs.

Neatness in dress and person is to-day essential. This is more important than money and a well-dressed boy of easy approach and good manners, of "personality," has a better chance even though he is unable or unwilling to pay his tailor, than the wealthier but stiff or uppish heir to millions with a bulging bank roll and three motor cars. The day of the "rough neck" has passed. Clothes are more important than they should be but your son cannot change this. In general, whether the boy makes a club or a fraternity depends not upon his financial rating but upon one thing only—whether he is or is not "wet" and "wet" means, simply, personally unattractive. The question of family will enter in only if he wishes to make the most exclusively snobbish upper-crust fraternities or clubs and even there family cannot prevail over "wetness." That and not poverty is the unpardonable campus sin.

In the main, success, however, is open on an equal foot-

ing, to rich and poor alike. There is no saving social grace in the mere possession of the dollar. The eagle may and alas does scream in our urban, suburban and rural communities and there are, of course, city colleges where there is little or no college life, whose social activities and standards are faintly colored by that urban life which surrounds and sometimes invades them. Over the college campus, at least over the campuses of the isolated college where the residential tradition still holds, that screaming eagle of the mint is mercifully silent. It is a great good fortune and we Americans have the right to congratulate ourselves that in these islands of economic democracy the undergraduate for four blessed years may, if he will, live an ideal life and may assess and measure it in terms that at least are not mercenary.

As a consequence of this absence of monetary standards, there is created upon the college campus a type of life which many parents, particularly those who have never been to college, fail to understand. The campus of a residential college becomes in a quite literal sense a commonwealth. Personal property rights are pooled in a sort of communistic ownership far more than they are in any village or town of similar size. If Jim Smith owns a bicycle and leaves it in the rack in front of his dormitory, its disappearance does not mean that it has been stolen. Without ever a word, Bill Jones rode away upon it with no sense of violation of property rights. All that Jim can reasonably expect is that it will be returned to the place where he left it and even in this reasonable expectation he will sometimes be disappointed. In places where old automobiles

have not been barred by grudging elders the same is true. If Bill Jones has a new overcoat, Jim Brown thinks nothing of wearing it on his visit to town. A dinner suit, privately paid for, becomes by extension the property of half a dozen. This is why things at college are forever disappearing and why the college campus is too often the happy hunting ground for professional sneak thieves. Ownership is less rigorously private, property less personal. Every good fellow has his stake in this communal chest and there is an easy give and take. Though at first sight it seems paradoxical it is nevertheless entirely natural that what may be called the boy's community sense is stronger than that of his elders. Every boy wishes to contribute his fair share to the common quota. If he is financially able to do so and does not, he is punished by being rated a "piker" and for this reason he is eager, almost abnormally sensitive, about doing his part, about holding up his end. A fours years' sojourn on a comfortable allowance in this non-economic world is not necessarily the best immediate preparation for business and if many leaders in commerce and industry complain of the ineptitude of the recent college graduate it is probably, as we shall see in "The Code of the Undergraduate," for this reason.

Sweet as is social success in the eyes of the sophomore, it would be a very serious mistake to accept the undergraduate judgments of "wetness" as passed upon their fellows. Just because this community sense is so strong conformity is rated more highly than character. In spite of undergraduate protestations of independence the strong herd instincts tend to suppress rather than develop origi-

nality. Young men, as we shall see later, appreciate at more than their face value the more primitive and barbaric qualities of physical strength and prowess. Nearly all adolescents are potential athletes and understand athleticism, and the captain of a team or the star half-back will be exalted as having done great things for the college. The boy of rarer gifts, with the unusual literary or artistic sense, who has written a prize poem will not fare so well. Not nearly so well, for instance, as the hale-fellow well-met reporter on the campus daily. Neither will the "poler" who devotes more than the usual amount of time to his studies and stands at the head of his class. He is curiously enough not regarded as a benefactor of this supposedly intellectual commonwealth. Neither is the boy who dislikes hubbub and noise, who has learned the difficult art of withdrawal and of solitary meditation and communion with himself. Such gifts are, of course, not anti-social but they are sufficiently rare to brand their possessors as "queer," as "freaks," and a number of men of this fine type may be found among the social outcasts of even the best regulated campus. The one important difference between the campus "regular" and the more primitive clansman is that he regards these outlanders not with hostility but with indulgence.

Because of all this it is necessary to repeat again that a boy's happiness at college does not depend primarily upon money. The young, and this includes boys at college, accept poverty as an "act of God." It is exceedingly rare to find "the world owes me a living" attitude even among undergraduates who are forced to work and earn their

way and I have never known a college boy who blamed his parents for being poor. Any right minded undergraduate accepts with good grace all financial hardships and privations which spring from family misfortunes. With stoic simplicity he accepts them as necessary. Let no parent, however, lay this unction to his soul and conclude for this reason that the question of his son's financial status in college is not important. It is so, decidedly, and it is so because though his happiness does not depend upon the possession of money, it does depend, as we have seen, upon proper relations to his family. Just because a boy is generous, when he is forced to the conclusion that the scantiness of his allowance is the result of niggardliness, self-indulgence or lack of sympathy at home, this disillusion tends to vitiate that normal relationship with his family and even with his classmates which is fundamental to his well-being. Any one who probes a number of unhappy father and son relationships will find an unsatisfactory financial relation in the background of so many cases that an intelligent handling of this problem should be of primary concern to all parents.

The really vital, practical problem which must be solved in every case is that of the proper allowance which should be made to a son for his personal expenses by the father able to do so. In a general way, allowances which tend to cause trouble, group themselves in three main classes. We might call them for convenience, (1) the allowance with the savings feature, (2) the excessive allowance and (3) the skimpy allowance.

The allowance with the savings feature in one form or

another is more frequent than is generally supposed, especially in times of prosperity. Like falsehood it hath a goodly outside. It consists in a father's giving his son a larger monthly sum than he believes is actually necessary. It is done on the same theory that automobile owners used to buy over-size tires. It would be cheaper in the long run. Such allowances are given to encourage thrift with the understanding that the son make regular payments and put aside say ten dollars a month in a Christmas Club or Building and Loan Association or merely deposit this sum in a savings account with an absolutely ironclad understanding that under no circumstances is he to draw upon it. So long as these deposits are regularly made, the over-size allowance is continued. If the son at any time fails to make his saving, the father not only cuts out the allowance for saving but often reduces the spending money as well. This is the plan at its most rigorous worst. Sometimes it is made, in milder form, in a promise to double all savings made, or an agreement that in case the boy saves, let's say $400, during his college course, the father will double this and grant him after graduation a trip to Europe. I have frequently had fathers tell me with pride that they had made some such arrangement with their sons. I have never known a case which I considered unqualifiedly successful though I have known rare cases where the son faithfully put by the monthly ten dollars throughout his four years. There are other cases where the bank book will show that the son made the monthly deposit with the regularity of clock work. It will not show, however, that in the month of the college Prom the son clandestinely borrowed from

his roommate not only the ten dollars for savings but a twenty dollar advance on his next month's expenses.

If gambling is, of course, reprehensible and a frequent sin of youth, borrowing and lending are not. They are among its most normal manifestations. There are on every campus many emergencies. A wallet is lost or stolen, a boy who lives across the continent is suddenly called home. Everybody chips in all he can. An innocent friend is arrested by an excited policeman and held for bail by an unfriendly magistrate. There is probably no college class of any size in which this has not happened once and in neighboring towns particularly, student bail tends to sell at a premium. I can recall the case of an undergraduate whose fiancée was living in Florida where illness had forced her parents to spend the winter. A tornado swept the district. When he learned the news he took the next train down and naturally did not wish to arrive with empty pockets on the scene of such disaster. I hope that every man in his entry contributed. Imagine under these conditions an undergraduate with a hundred dollars in a savings account. Under no circumstances is he to withdraw it without parental consent. He will either violate his pledge and nullify the foolish agreement or feel guilty and self-conscious. He will hardly thank even the well-intentioned father who placed him in this predicament. This is not the place to discuss whether Polonius' familiar advice to his son, Laertes, is generally valid—"Neither a borrower nor a lender be." It sounds well enough but it is middle-aged and there are times in his course when a college man will have to borrow and there are other times

when he should lend. To refuse to do so would be a sin against the more generous code of youth. If many intelligent sophomores regard Polonius as a sap, an old stiff, a stuffed shirt, it is probably because of saws like this. Whatever the middle-aged may think of it, his advice is not that which a wise father will give his son in college and the oversized allowance with the savings feature is therefore psychologically a misfit.

Even less can be said for the merely excessive allowance. It is made by two types of parent. Sometimes it is done by the merely stupid and carelessly indulgent, more frequently perhaps it is done by the parents whom we might describe as over generous for selfish reasons. Such parents as a rule have not themselves gone to college and feel a sense of inferiority in the presence of their poorer but socially and intellectually more gifted neighbors. By making their sons a shamefully bulging allowance they usually write themselves down members of the *nouveau riche* or war profiteer class. They do it not because they are interested in the boy's happiness but because they expect him to make an impression for them. He usually does. He makes a very bad one. The boy who is on his own and compelled to earn his way has, of course, some sense of financial perspective but even those more fortunate who are still living on unearned allowances are not moved to admiration by such sheer, lavish "honorific display" and "conspicuous waste." The boy who makes a show of spending for mere effect is quickly set down by his comrades in the campus world as "running it out" financially. No one can buy his way into the hearts of his classmates.

It is far more impossible than it is to buy one's way into the hearts of one's neighbors or business associates. And although undergraduates put up with a considerable amount of financial Quixotism in their comrades, they roundly and soundly resent the financial pusher. Such a son is therefore under a far heavier handicap at college than are his parents in their more money minded community.

It is difficult to set any one top figure for an allowance to which there will not be a few exceptions. Dean Herbert E. Hawkes of Columbia University says that one cannot give a boy more than fifty dollars a month over and above all necessary expenses without doing him damage. I have known only the rarest cases where this advice would not hold. Occasionally, for instance, a boy develops the collecting habit. Once in a while it is for the American antiques of the section where he goes to college. Sometimes it is for etchings and more frequently, though still rarely, for good books. One young man, now a well known editor, had to hire a van to move his personal library. Since such tastes are not vicious in themselves and are in a sense educational, they may be safely encouraged where parents can afford to do so. There are, of course, small and modest college communities where even less than fifty dollars would provide a maximum of spending money but in general the fifty dollar limit for all practical purposes should be sufficient.

By far the most frequent source of trouble between sons and fathers lies, however, not in the excessive but in the insufficient or "skimpy" allowance and we may set it

down as a first principle that a parent who is generous in his allowances to himself should not be niggardly in his allowance to his son. If family finances permit only a small allowance or none at all, it should give no cause for worry and will not where the son understands. Trouble most frequently springs from the illiberal allowance made by the parent who can easily afford to do better. Even where additions are grudgingly and ungenerously made the son cannot be expected to accept them with gratitude. It results in continual haggling, family bickering and wounded pride and such a son is far less happy than his financially less fortunate classmate whose longer hours of toil are lightened by the realization that his poorer parents are doing for him all that he can reasonably expect.

Providence has mercifully so arranged it that the seven ages of man are not all subject to the same infirmities. Certain diseases attack only infancy or only childhood or only adolescence. Certain vices also show a decided preference for certain age levels. Middle age and age are immune from some of them, from measles for instance and the boisterous riotousness of youth. As we grow older we must fight against the encroachments of senility upon character as well as upon physical constitution. Now, if niggardliness may be ascribed to any one period of life it must be to middle age and after. The great misers of literature like Shakespeare's Shylock, Molière's Harpagon and Balzac's Grandet, are all of them aging men. Their authors divined a highly important truth. If we are to be miserly at all we shall become so only with age. There are, of course, boys whom their discerning comrades call

"close-fisted" or "tight-wads" but a full-fledged youthful miser is unthinkable. The first symptoms of such weakness show themselves intermittently in youth. They succeed in mastering us and take complete possession only with age. It is not until an adolescent has exhausted life's many other possibilities that he can really devote himself with complete success to the exacting and exclusive practice of miserliness. But in any case, the vice takes decades to develop its more virulent forms. Like hardening of the arteries, it comes with many years.

Youth on the other hand is generous and in practical matters irreflective to a fault. I suspect that those who made of prudence a virtue were themselves past forty. In any case prudence is not really a virtue of youth. Youth should have confident dash, should be quick in its responses to the challenges of life and should be allowed to believe a little longer in the world's beneficence. All the world would not still love a lover if our later Romeos poked about deep in middle-aged computations or if all day long, like the king in the nursery rhyme, they remained in their counting houses counting out their money. Acquisitiveness and possessiveness are rarely youth's prepotent interests. That is why the savings banks which the old give the young are broken far more frequently than they are filled. A youth does, and he normally should, desire other things more pressingly.

Miserliness and prodigality are equally sins of the spirit. Both make for social confusion and unhappiness and indicate the lack of a sense of measure in dealing with this world's good things. With his deep moral insight, Dante

punishes them both in the selfsame circle of his hell. But the middle-aged father lives in a world which of necessity is shaped by economic laws. The son in the campus commonwealth does not, and though within bounds thrift is certainly a virtue, it is placing an unnecessary burden upon a boy to require him to save in college. This is what the middle-aged father who came to see me had attempted with his son and though he would not admit it, Henry Ford was right. The statement might be amended to read, "No successful college student ever laid up a surplus." He should not be expected to do so. It should be enough if he achieve an education.

CHAPTER IV

WHY STUDENTS FAIL

A FEW years ago there was a great outcry in one of our Western States. At the middle of the year its university had dropped 600 young men and women in its freshman class and had sent them back to their homes as incompetent. Yet these young men and women were graduates of high schools and, only six short months previously they had received their diplomas before applauding parents and friends. In their local schools they had successfully completed their courses. Now they were ignominiously turned away as failures. These 600 ex-students constituted about a quarter of their class and though we may admit that this percentage was higher than in most institutions, some such process of elimination is taking place in them all.

It was assumed by many that the professors at the university had ceased "doing their job" and had gone on a rampage. Yet some such, and indeed an even worse slaughter of the innocents is taking place quite regularly even in higher institutions that prepare for the so-called learned professions. A record of the men who fail to complete their course at the Harvard Law School, for instance, would here prove interesting. Many a restless man dissatisfied with his own lot and humdrum tasks in life envies, let us say, some successful engineer of his acquaintance. He imagines that the only difference between himself and this professional man is that the latter was

financially able to enter college and that somehow college mercifully and magically did the rest. Yet the facts tell a sadder story. Out of every five men who matriculated in the same engineering school at least four in all probability turned out to be relative failures. Of every three men who enter college and with high hopes start to prepare themselves for this career, two never finish. In exact terms, only 37½ per cent ever leave with a diploma.

The Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education, aided by a grant of funds from the Carnegie Corporation, started some years ago to gather the materials for an exhaustive inquiry of the conditions in that field. Professor H. P. Hammond who served as assistant director of the investigation reported as follows:

> Of each 100 entering students, but 62 successfully complete the first year and proceed with their class, and but 42 complete the first two years. The others drop out of college for one reason or another; the predominant reason being scholastic failure.

He held that engineering education was costing the people of this country in the neighborhood of $30,000,000 a year, and over and above this it was costing the efforts of a great body of conscientious teachers and college authorities. Even more important was the fact that it was costing a fraction of the lives of some 55,000 or 60,000 young men a year and it would seem, he held, "that we should make every effort to have our work done for those who are able to profit by it in reasonable measure. To me it seems high time that we gave much more attention to the important question of the rational selection of student personnel." The reason why the percentage

of failures in engineering is higher than in some of the other professions is because a number of these other professions, notably medicine, law and occasionally dentistry, demand that their candidates shall either have completed a regular college course or at least shall have weathered its first two years. A preliminary process of elimination has therefore taken place, yet even in the medical profession only 75 per cent admitted under these conditions succeed, while in the law and in dentistry it is about 60 per cent.

What is true of engineering education is true of the much wider field of college education in general where the wastage in money and lives runs up into staggering figures. Anyone can obtain a rough and ready idea of this wastage by comparing in any institution the relative size of the freshman and the graduating classes. Until a few years ago the numbers enrolled were increasing annually and the freshman class would normally have been somewhat larger than the sophomore. This annual flood of entering freshmen has now been somewhat stabilized. The new classes are about the same size as their predecessors. Yet there were a good many institutions and some could probably still be found in which in any given year there were four times as many freshmen as graduating seniors. This means that in these colleges nearly three out of four failed to finish what they had begun. Doctor Joseph Roemer, secretary of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, found that practically half of all freshmen in State universities and colleges for men failed in one or more subjects. There are,

of course, some Americans who, accustomed to the wastefulness of American processes generally, do not take this very seriously and repeat with approval the cynical epigram that with respect to college,

> 'Tis better to have come and loafed
> Than never to have come at all.

Such indulgent observers will also tell you that we cannot afford to trouble ourselves about individual cases of failure and that we should pursue a laissez-faire policy, as we once did in big business. Let the devil take the hindmost. The boy must proceed at his own peril. Let the college admit him, give him a trial and drop him if it must. He alone will suffer harm and must pocket his losses if he wishes to take the risk.

Those who advocate that the colleges should accept whomsoever and keep him as long as they can, misunderstand the nature of the educational process. The plan they advise, which is really the one that in this country is only too often being followed, is a poor one for two reasons. In the first place it is bad for the boy. In the second, it is possibly even worse for the college. No one in his right mind who understands educational psychology would advise a high school boy who is bound to be dropped by the university to enter college even if the college is foolish enough to admit him. There is all the difference in the world between starting life as a success and starting it as a failure. One of the first requisites of good mental hygiene is to give a boy something that he can do. That is the treatment always recommended by good psychologists and psychiatrists. To have finished

one thing makes him feel that he can do others, gives him at least some sense of proficiency and lays the foundation for later confidence and initiative. To assign him tasks which are hopelessly beyond him is to beget in him that unfortunate defeatist attitude, the sense that he is beaten before he ever begins, which follows some men through life. A boy who is not really "intellectual" but who by dint of hard work is finally graduated by his high school goes out with such a sense of success. He has finished the task he began. He had put his hand to the plow and run his furrow to the end of the field. If he then goes to work he does so with the feeling that he has accomplished his last job and that the determination and effort of which he has already proven himself capable will see him through. One can predict for him success within the range of his limitations and there are many fields in which they will never work against him. Prediction of probable success in the case of this same young man will be considerably altered if with his hard-earned high school diploma he enters college with confident hope and is dismissed as a failure at midyears. The unfortunate effect upon the boy is, of course, the most distressing aspect of the majority of these college failures.

That this policy is equally bad for the college is not so clearly understood. It is worth considering for a moment what happens in actual practice. In the course of a careful study a well known educator in the South made the following statement:

> Cases are not wanting, in which schools have graduated boys and girls whose graduation could by no conceivable process of

reasoning be excused. If freshmen failures were solely traceable to failures to respond to the efforts of instructors in college, another story might be told; but when entrants into the freshman classes, bearing the stamp of official approval of an accredited high school with reputable teachers in charge, are totally unable to use the English language for simple tasks without the exhibition of blunders beyond the power of excuse to justify, one knows that there can be no other explanation than inexcusably poor teaching. When college students cannot perform the fundamental operations of arithmetic, and do not understand at all the principle of the use of negative quantities in algebra, one needs no further proof of the inferior work that has been done and accepted in the high school. Specific cases of such improper graduation from high school and admission to college are abundant.

The man in the street can with only a slight effort of the imagination visualize what must happen in the freshman class in college that is clogged with material of this sort. Let us assume that the instructor is trying to teach English Composition to a class of twenty boys. Fifteen of them are really prepared to do this work, five are of the type described above. They are continually making mistakes in spelling, grammar and simple sentence structure, which the teacher must correct. While he is doing this the brighter freshmen must mark time and lose interest, for to them all this is an old story. And since an educational chain can rarely be much stronger than its weakest links, if the professor is going to carry poor Jim and his dull or ill-prepared friends along, he must slow down his pace to their level. This means that he must deliberately hold back the fifteen brighter boys who with the same amount of his time and instruction could learn far more if the incompetents were eliminated. If the

university is to be "fair" to the dull boy as some parents insist, they should remember that by the same act it must be unfair to his brighter classmates. It must weaken the intellectual gruel, in vulgar terms, water the educational soup and give the fifteen deserving students less than a college man's ration. This is the problem which the college is trying to solve when it asks to be relieved of the handicap imposed by the incompetent. Whether these incompetents are poorly prepared, whether they are duller than average, or whether they are merely loafers makes but little difference.

If as a people we are to do anything with a situation which tends to beget failures let us at least begin by confessing that something is wrong with a plan that admits to college so many men who will not profit by the experience and who are in addition a "drag upon the works." That at least is the view of a great many of the teachers and administrators who are struggling with this problem and see its results. We have been too much inclined to look upon our entire system of education as one single unit. Every American citizen who has the time and inclination is supposed to be able to begin in kindergarten and finish in a college cap and gown and be presented with a sheepskin. The high school is merely a continuation of primary school and the college a prolongation of high school. This foolish assumption alone makes possible the rule which still prevails in most of our States and allows every graduate from any accredited school to present his certificate and enter the State university.

Against all the facts we persist in cherishing the fallacy that all men are born intellectually equal. However they may have been at birth, anyone who has ever taught a kindergarten or a college class knows that somewhere along the line his students have become decidedly unequal. Hard as it may be to swallow, we must admit that at least a few otherwise good Americans, in spite of all their educational opportunities, remain or become duller than the rest. For college purposes they are mentally too slow on the "pick up." Other countries have long since recognized that the innate aptitudes of the children in any community are so different that different types of training are called for. Some who have little linguistic or literary ability or who can never really master abstract mathematics will do excellently in vocational schools, and it is found that for these various types of children society can well afford to discontinue formal education at differing age levels. As a prosperous country we can clearly afford to extend educational facilities more generously than is done abroad, and we should provide opportunities freely to all so long as the recipients are capable of profiting by them. They will pay dividends to the state later in more intelligent service. There is, however, clearly a point where many cease to profit under our own system. This point of diminishing returns is frequently reached at the close of the high school period.

These temperamental differences may be said to differentiate undergraduates into three main groups. There is one class, and it is much larger than is usually believed, who take to college work and college life like

ducks to water. They are almost never up for discipline, they rarely fail, they do not appear in the news. They are the back log of every college community, give it its morale and set its tone. There is another group altogether too much discussed and too prominent in the news. In the better colleges it is much smaller than is generally supposed. These are the men who take to college life but have no stomachs for strictly college work and little or no interest in abstract intellectual problems. Among them you occasionally find a man who has decided intellectual gifts, and the college is successful where it converts a fair percentage of such salvageable material into the worker class. Many of them, however, are and will always remain below the standard required for graduation. They are the "drag upon the works." They clutter up the dean's offices in every college. They are often excellent athletes and very nice boys. Alumni and parents are usually partial to them, and though they are frequently, from the standpoint of a teacher, hollow at the core, they are sometimes spoken of as "all-around men." They are less numerous than they seem, for they are noisy in their protests against the keying up process that has been going on in most of the colleges since the war and they are forever telling the world how hopelessly stiff college work has become. This group contains some of the most attractive loafers I have ever met. There is still a third group which, though not numerically large, is unfortunately larger than the public knows. It is made up of men who really take to college work and intellectual training but who cannot adapt themselves to group or

college life. The ordinary undergraduate calls them "wet" or "sad birds." Medical officers and deans know them often as their psychopathic cases. This group has unfortunately increased and calls for far more careful attention from university authorities than it receives. It frequently contains brilliant minds, and the men of outstanding artistic talent, the disprized "esthetes," are often found among them. Though they may pass all examinations, among them also are to be found tragic cases of real failure. These unadaptables often fail, either in college or later, to learn life's most difficult lesson, that no one can successfully live unto himself alone. Members of this group rarely ally themselves fully with their fellows and are less amenable to their canons of group conduct. They are not necessarily brighter than their fellows, but they are pronounced individualists and among them you will usually find those who for temperamental reasons become determined and often self-sacrificing pacifists and radicals and supporters of any causes, noble or nonsensical, which tend to overturn the hated existing order. Among them anyone can at any time recruit for service within or outside the college a determined little battalion of social rebels.

Not long ago Mr. J. Edward Allen, the Superintendent of Education at Warrenton, N. C., published an interesting study on freshman mortality. His first general conclusion was:

> High schools should make a sharp distinction between graduation and college entrance. Many students are qualified for graduation from high school, who are in no sense fitted for college

work. This fact must, in the present changed status of the high school, in our system of education, be clearly recognized.

Probably all competent high school and university teachers would agree. From the opposite side of our country, the dean of one of the State universities on the Pacific coast in assigning the most common reason for student failure, wrote as follows:

Much of the material that has met the formal requirements for admission is in reality unfit to profit by instruction and meet the requirements of a standard university. In the case of state universities public support implies that the instruction is a part of the public school system and that universities are under a certain obligation to take and attempt to train all who have met in a formal way the entrance requirements. . . . As long as universities and colleges take the "mill run" of students, many will be called and few chosen for academic degrees later on.

Another dean of one of the largest Middle Western State universities puts the case in much the same way:

In spite of the fact that before being admitted to college a student must pass either an entrance examination or receive a certificate from an accredited school, there are many instances of students being admitted to college without adequate preparation. They know just enough to get in, but after they arrive the pace is too fast and they fall by the wayside.

Still another from the Far West tells the same story:

In my contact as dean of men I have observed the chief reason for students' failure has been the faulty high school preparation experience in the small high schools in the Western States. After this experience, to be thrown into large classes with no particular follow-up work, maladjustment results and failure is the logical

outcome. The transition from the text recitation method of high school to the lecture and note taking method of college is too great for many of them. This accounts for a great number of failures.

There are in large universities, where students are admitted without examination, cases in which, without anyone's intending to do him an injustice, a freshman "gets the worst of it." He becomes in a sense the victim of his "personality." The psychological phenomenon involved is one which anyone can understand if he will consult his own experience. You go out Sunday morning to buy your paper and meet a busy, besmudged and bedraggled newsboy with his cart. He is in a hurry to take care of his next customer, pulls the paper off the pile and slaps it into your hand. You pay him five cents, the regular price. The following week you meet a different boy. He is neat and friendly and makes an effort to be obliging. He bids you good morning and hands you the paper with a smile. You give him a dime and tell him to keep the change. It is twice what you paid the other boy for exactly the same service rendered but you have no sense of having done an injustice to either. Teachers, even good teachers, are subject to this same weakness if we may call it so, and it sometimes has serious consequences later for the boy who has been treated with what might be called unnecessary generosity.

There are a great many high schools in which the graduate was never called upon to take a strictly impersonal test. He passes a course and is "exempted" from examination if in the opinion of his teacher his daily

work in that subject reaches a certain grade. This works out in favor of the boy with a good personality even in so seemingly scientific a subject as mathematics. Jim Smith is such a boy, let us say, always courteous and friendly, always attends classes and listens with interest. He is not really bright but everybody likes him including his teachers and he is an officer of his class. The boys are sent to the blackboard to work out problems in geometry, the teacher watching them from her desk. Jim makes a wrong start. The teacher shakes her head, Jim erases and starts over again several times and with the help of such often unconscious assistance, after a longer time than it should have taken him, finally hits the right method and answer and earns a fairly good grade for a rather poor day's work in which most of the knowledge was really contributed by the teacher. This phenomenon is so frequent that in school slang such a boy is said to have a "drag." Had he with all the other members of his class been placed in a room by himself and given ten such problems to solve, say in three hours, the chances are that in his slow, blundering way he would have had time to try only seven and that five of them would have been wrong. When Jim on his certificate from the high school enters the large freshman classes of college he loses the benefit of what might be called this intellectually unearned increment in his rating. In his class in history the professor now lectures to 300 men three days a week. Jim has come to lean heavily on his teachers. He has never developed intellectual independence, has never really been mentally weaned and without this sup-

port is lost. Every month an hour is devoted to a written test on which he is graded by a young reader or graduate student who does not know Jim from Adam. Such impersonal tests plus an equally impersonal final examination now determine whether he passes or fails. With the inevitable loss of his "drag" it may well be that Jim, who had a fair rating in his school, will be found to have less than that degree of proficiency required for college work. He is dropped, to everybody's regret.

It is unpopular to advocate introducing any barrier between high school and college, but the harm that has been done to many otherwise deserving boys who have been branded as failures and the inevitable slowing down of the process of higher education, particularly in freshman and sophomore years, would seem to justify the introduction everywhere of a set of examinations to be corrected by some impartial body, if only a competent State board of examiners. This is certainly true unless we are to select only those in the upper sections of their high school classes. Such impersonal examinations are of course at present conducted by The College Entrance Examination Board and are required by many of the endowed colleges. To a fairly large number of such institutions they have proved themselves of considerable assistance in making a better selection of candidates. The mere necessity of passing such examinations would cut out of freshman classes that large number who now enter college not from any genuine desire for further education but from sheer inertia. They have a high school diploma and ask hopefully—where do we go from here? The

answer of their friends, naturally, is—on to college. Even if such examinations were otherwise valueless, the introduction of a hurdle which the candidate would have to prepare for and take would at least give him pause and make him think twice before he followed the crowd.

I am far from believing that this should be the only test. Previous school record properly appraised should also count, and intelligence or scholastic aptitude tests, when competently prepared and competently given can certainly be of help in the process. Let us admit that further experimentation here is necessary. The obstacle in the way of reducing the percentage of failures has, however, not arisen because the colleges have been unwilling to face their problem. Virtually everywhere they have been at work upon it. If in so many parts of the country and particularly in tax-supported institutions they have had so little success in dealing with it, it is because of the determined resistance they have encountered on the part of their clientèle. In too many cases the taxpayer objects at the same time to the large number of failures in colleges, to the heavily increasing costs and also to any attempt to eliminate at an earlier stage those who seem subsequently bound to fail. Throughout the country generally the most frequent cause, therefore, of our wholesale failures is to be found in the fact that many colleges accept and are indeed forced to accept men who for their own good and for that of higher education should never have been admitted. In such cases we are only beginning to realize that it is cruel to be too kind. The public and parents still insist that every one "be

given a chance" no matter how much harm it does to him or to others in the college.

Although conditions vary greatly in different parts of the country and in different types of institutions, I was surprised to find in collecting data from a large number of administrative officers who had been concerned with this problem, that their answers were really in substantial agreement. In their replies as to why students fail, the various causes assigned were much the same though the order of their importance varied somewhat.

Let me begin by citing a particular case of a type which, I am sure, would have been distressingly familiar to all of my correspondents. This young man had been dropped from college three years before. A few weeks after our own Commencement the father wrote me what could fairly be called a "scorching" letter. He enclosed the commencement programme of another university which indicated that his son had been graduated there with honors. "Others succeed with my son," he said, "where you have failed. Why?" This was the burden of his indictment. Our record showed that the boy was above the average in intelligence. He was evidently capable and always had been. His high school standing showed, however, that considering his ability, he had never exerted himself. Much the same was true of the two years he had spent in college with us. His relative ranking had grown steadily worse, warnings had been ineffective and he was finally dropped after his last examinations in which he had failed miserably. I understood that he had taken a job and gone to work. The year spent in the

fiercer competition of American industrial life with regular working hours had done him a world of good. When after this new experience he entered another college, he had evidently carried his new attitude with him. Naturally I was very glad that he had. He had learned, though his father had not, that in the educational process something at least depends upon the willingness and the efforts of the boy.

The reasons why many students fail will perhaps be plainer if we set forth the two main conditions which ordinarily make for success in college. These are native intelligence without a certain minimum of which no student can possibly succeed, and willingness to work, without which no student should be allowed to. Where these two prerequisites are present and the proper stimulus is offered by teachers who are also intelligent and willing, success can be predicted with almost absolute certainty. In educational circles this willingness to work, the result of a really effective hunger for knowledge, is sometimes spoken of as "motivation," and there is still some question as to which of these two factors is the more important and as to exactly how much weight should be given to the second. The French philosopher, Bergson, used to put the case in a way that to me seemed essentially sound. Intelligence, he said, was like light. With it alone, however, you could hardly generate power. Will, on the other hand, was like heat. With it you could generate power and with power, generate light. In other words, with a steady willingness to work he held that a man could develop at least a certain amount of that

intelligence in which at first sight he might seem to be deficient. Every professor of long experience can cite some case of an apparently unpromising freshman who finally mastered his subject and won distinction in later life. Darwin, who was not brilliant but possessed this willingness to a very high degree, used to be fond of repeating, "It's doggedness that does it," and history provides many other examples, the most famous of which is probably that of Demosthenes, who in spite of an impediment in his speech finally became the world's most famous orator. The curve of young men who possess this quality is almost invariably a steadily rising one throughout school and college. That is why some of us who are perhaps old-fashioned refuse to accept the view of some of the experts who hold that intellectual capacity can be measured and is unalterably constant. I am willing to admit that at any given time it can be measured with a fair degree of accuracy, but the amount of intellectual capacity which a student will eventually possess cannot be predicted. Intelligence might be called a purely mental quality. To make it really effective the boy must also possess what we usually call character. This moral quality, the boy's character, cannot be measured by tests and yet it is, as I see it, fully as important as intelligence if not more so. No one can tell to what degree it may raise his original endowment. For this reason a boy whose record in school shows steady improvement deserves special consideration even though his intelligence rating is still lower than that of some man whose curve has been downward. If we eliminate the men who stand consistently at the head of

their class, success in life can be predicted more safely for a man whose curve was rising, than for one whose rating was stationary or showed a decline.

Any conclusions based upon a consideration of these two fundamental factors, intelligence and motivation, must, however, be altered and may be completely nullified if the student is submitted to abnormal conditions of strain, any one of which may induce failure. The chief causes of such strain, and I make no pretense of rating them in the order of their importance, are poor health, unhappy conditions at home and financial difficulties.

Such cases of strain are so frequent that in listing the causes of failure of the students at Columbia University, Dean Hawkes mentioned as the two principal reasons, financial embarrassment and poor health. As a matter of fact, poor health and insufficient funds were listed among the causes of failure by nearly all of my correspondents, including Charles Gilman Hyde, dean of men at the University of California. In another far western university it was found that of all the students dropped during a fall term, 45 per cent were men who were wholly self-supporting, and two-thirds of the men dropped were attempting to pay one-half or more of their expenses. Such cases are, of course, deeply distressing, but their frequency should be taken as reinforcing the advice now given by virtually all colleges that no young man, however ambitious, should attempt to carry a full college load if he is forced to earn all of his expenses.

Before proceeding to more specific diagnoses there is one widespread misconception which should be corrected.

It is frequently held that a very large percentage of the young women who attend colleges, particularly the coeducational universities, do so for purely social reasons. The conclusion is, therefore, drawn that they are poor college material. This may, alas, be true in some cases, but the spirit of our young men should not for this reason be proud. On the whole, and certainly in a great many coeducational universities the records of these young women for remaining in college and doing their work is considerably higher than that of their male classmates. So, for instance, Earl M. Pallett, the registrar of the University of Oregon, finds,

> It is always true that a very large proportion of those dropped for poor scholarship are men, probably averaging as large as 90 per cent. . . . There are more men in the university than women, but the difference does not in any way correspond to the difference in numbers of men and women who are disqualified.

If you ask young men in such institutions for an explanation of this fact they usually tell you with masculine complacency that the girls "do nothing for the college" anyway, that they are debarred from participating in athletics and in many other extra-curricular activities. It is true that they are largely debarred from such activities, but after all they should still be credited with doing something for the college, if it is only discharging their scholastic responsibilities. Professors in coeducational universities will tell you, as does Mr. Pallett, that "student girls make their class work a more important part of their college life than do the men, that is, taking the general run of students." They seem to have a somewhat

higher sense of responsibility and are probably somewhat more ashamed to fail in class or in examinations.

If we now try to co-ordinate the causes assigned by officials for the failure of students in different types of institutions and in many parts of the country we shall find that most men are dismissed for the lack of those two prime qualities, intelligence and will, which normally make for academic success. We have already spoken of lack of intelligence. Doctor Adam Leroy Jones, director of admissions at Columbia University, assigned as the most important cause of failure, lack of motivation. This, as we have seen, means simply lack of will to work. One of the officials of the College Entrance Examination Board who has studied the subsequent college records of many thousand students also gives this as the most frequent cause.

Dean J. M. Page of the University of Virginia puts it with refreshing frankness and in terms that anyone can understand, "I beg to say that in my opinion the great fundamental reason why students fail in college is that they do not work."

President Lovett of The Rice Institute of Houston, Texas, sums it up in words that amount to much the same thing. "Among these (reasons for failure) are lack of brains, inclination, proper methods of work and industry."

President Arthur Stanley Pease of Amherst agrees.

My own opinion, which I find is pretty thoroughly supported by that of our dean, on the reasons why college students fail is that they are unwilling to work . . . there is far too much un-

willingness to face hard and distasteful tasks, and I cannot help feeling that the coddling method of many schools, . . . is largely responsible for this, though laxity of parental discipline doubtless plays its part as well.

The veteran dean, Thomas Arkle Clark, of the University of Illinois, tells the same story:

An overwhelming number of students fail, I think, however, because they are not willing to work hard. The majority of our students who fail have had a rather easy life, have never made any sacrifices, have gotten through high school by the easiest road and come to college with the idea that it is similar to high school and that they can slip through with the minimum amount of work. They say in explanation of their failure that they "cannot get down to work," which means that they have no appetite for books.

Dean Howes of Williams suggests an aspect of the case that is only too common.

Some boys are failures or near failures because they think they are putting in an honest day's work when a little exact mathematics would prove that four hours a day represent their actual working time—I have known this to happen.

He is willing, as other deans would be, to give many the benefit of the doubt, and continues,

I think that very few deliberately decide to do nothing or next to nothing, but it is so much easier to work to-morrow than it is to work to-day. The transition from school to college with its change from fairly strict supervision to considerable liberty of action presents a problem that a good many do not solve.

An interesting explanation for all this is given by Dean Raymond Walters of Swarthmore College.

It is my conviction that the difficulties of students are due largely to their working at a level below their capacities. They

spurt and then fail to hold their best pace. This is due not so much, I think, to the exactions of high academic standards as to their wavering and lapses because of other interests. These other interests may be worthy and indeed essential for a well-rounded life. The strong character keeps them subordinate. The weaker character permits them to absorb his time and energy; they take his eye off the scholastic ball—and he strikes out.

That some of all this may be merely the result of the restlessness and immaturity of youth is perhaps the conclusion we should draw from the statement of Alfred Powers, dean of the Extension Division of the University of Oregon. He deals with about 3,500 students annually, who after having interrupted their college course, often for many years, come back evidently as older and wiser men. Among them there are "drop-outs" from colleges all over the country.

"They talk to me," he writes, "very frankly about their new purposes and about what made them quit when they were young. It must be said in favor of college that it gives them this ideal, long allowed to sleep, that finally brings them to us with a determination that generally sees them through."

The years of maturity seem to show them their own cases in a different light.

"To them," he continues, "in their adolescent days college seemed nonsense,—the curriculum wasn't practical enough, four years seemed a long time, the college programme didn't seem adapted to their fancied maturity, they wanted to be real men and women with wives and husbands and jobs and a status in the world. Then after ten years, or twenty, they come to us, feeling bereft and fully convinced that the college education abortively relinquished is what is missing, frequently, therefore, overesti-

mating its importance as much as they formerly underestimated it. So you see college at least gave them this rueful mood."

Though Dean C. W. Mendell of Yale feels that the variety of reasons is difficult to classify, in the main his diagnosis corresponds to what has been said.

Lack of ability still accounts for some failures. Men try their best and cannot make the grade. This group is small. I should think that probably the chief factor as I see it is the placing of outside interests above the main college interests. Life is very much more diversified for the undergraduate than it used to be and he does not confine his interests to those of the college. When outside interests become more and more important his work is apt to take second place and eventually he is apt to slide out.

It is true that such outside interests are frequently a contributing cause but they slip in and take first place in the student's mind because his purpose in going to college was not clear to himself and his motivation therefore was correspondingly weak.

A similar report comes from Dean J. A. Bursley of the University of Michigan:

It seems to me that the two principal reasons for student failure are (1) inadequate preparation and (2) either inability to grasp what they are here for or a lack of a feeling of responsibility.

Professor Chester N. Greenough, until recently dean at Harvard, feels that the reasons are often so blended that no exact answer is possible, but he lists three causes that are rather closely connected with what has already been said:

1. Insufficient inclination to lead the life of a successful studious undergraduate.

2. Insufficient control of ability, or will power, to make good. This is, as we both know, a hard type of case. Trouble at home, some bad habit or other, jealousy over some more successful man, etc., etc. These are the more or less psychiatric cases which shade off to the tragic and incurable.

3. Insufficient ability to meet the standard.

"I am inclined to think," he adds, "that (3) is commoner than (2) but less common than (1)."

My own experience corresponds with his and I agree with him further when he concludes, "what a sad business it is."

Let us pass again to the Pacific Coast. Lucy Ward Stebbins, Dean of Women at the University of California and for many years a member of the Committee on Disqualified Students, after discussing poor preparation (which, of course, includes lack of intelligence) and students whom we have classified as suffering from strain such as ill health and financial handicaps and private misfortunes, adds:

Under the next classification I should place the student who comes to the university from a background of comfort and social ambition, the object of whose family in sending him to college is chiefly to fulfill a social ambition. Such a student has no urge and often no interest in pursuing scholarship. If he does not attain the social position (that is, membership in a fraternity, sorority or club) or if he does not participate in student activities, he becomes easily discouraged and feels that there is no object in attending college anyway.

Everywhere we find quite general agreement upon the essentials. Put in this way, the problem seems simple, absurdly so. That is because we have tried to deal only with

its main aspects and the general responsibility of the taxpayer and the parent. We have omitted altogether that great number who fail because of what we have called abnormal conditions of strain such as illness, financial worry, lack of any previous experience in self-discipline, and troubles at home. The change from the high or preparatory school to college involves that the boy or girl must in most cases for the first time leave home and the closer supervision of earlier schooling. This often calls not only for an intellectual but a moral readjustment. The process is more difficult than most of us in our optimism usually imagine. Anyone can, for a time, as in the army for instance, certainly adapt himself to a far more arduous régime if the main objectives are kept clearly in mind and recognized as worthwhile both by him and by those behind the lines; if in other words, general morale is good.

In all parts of the country every college official consulted recognized the seriousness of the problem. He sees, as the public does not, year in and year out, case after case in unhappy procession with all its pathetic and sometimes tragic consequences. I have refrained from citing such individual cases for this is not a matter which sentiment or recrimination alone can cure.

Poor teaching, of course, is a factor in the situation. The success of the freshman in college does not depend upon him alone, yet it is a curious fact that in nearly all technical discussions of this subject, the teacher is treated as a negligible, almost a negative, quantity. This is hardly a compliment to the professorial profession. The teacher

is, or at least he should be, an active factor. We often find distinguished surgeons, musicians or chemists who attribute their success to the fact that they studied under a particular master. This is true of freshmen as well as of graduate students. The instructor applies at least some of the power necessary to the process. He provides or should provide stimulus which increases motivation and makes effort easier and more profitable. Trumbull used to define a teacher as one who causes others to know. It is a large order but if teachers may justly receive some credit for the success of their pupils it is only fair to give them some of the blame where there are many failures. It will be admitted then that poor teaching is a contributing factor in some cases and a number of my colleagues such as Dean Otis E. Randall of Brown University dealt with it frankly. Though this subject calls for more extended treatment than can be given it here it should not be allowed to distract our attention from the central issue. The main and simple reason, as Penrod would say, why so many students fail is that tens of thousands are admitted who under any proper system of selection should have been excluded. Here, too, the colleges are not altogether blameless, and one critic of the 600 dismissals in that Western State university was justified when he complained that for years college presidents had been urging everybody to come to college, and now that everybody was doing it, they were sending most of them back home.

The reduction of mortality in endowed colleges that have been forced to restrict enrollment and study admissions proves that a remedy is at hand for at least one phase

of this evil if the people has seemingly the courage but in reality the mercy to use it. Those for whom failure must be predicted should not be admitted. Some of the State universities, the University of Minnesota for instance, have tried to introduce changes and have made progress. But no matter what effective steps have been advocated in public or private institutions, all have met with determined opposition from an adverse public opinion. Many have been able to make no headway whatever against the active hostility of their constituents. Where, as in the United States, higher education is a part of the social system, isolated efforts can do little with so general a condition. The size of our distressing army of failures is, however, sufficient testimony that something here is fundamentally wrong and that we are confronted with a social problem which not the college alone but only a more enlightened public opinion can solve.

Part II

COLLEGE PROBLEMS

CHAPTER V

THIS NEW WORLD AND THE UNDERGRADUATE

WHEN your optimistic acquaintance looks up from his morning paper and informs you in delighted enthusiasm that we are living in a new world, do not encourage him. Tell him to hold his horses. It is not necessarily a matter for congratulation.

Civilization means restraint; and the more advanced the civilization, the more we feel the pressure of regulations. One-way streets, for instance, are a concomitant of the increased use of the automobile. If a single inebriated truck driver violates this convention, a jam results and the whole system breaks down. The traffic problem, a part of civilization, is not more complicated than civilization itself. Certain arbitrary rules, certain conventions, must be enforced. We all suffer from some of them. That is why even the 100-per-cent New Yorker will find a happy relief in a two weeks' plunge into the Maine woods. Over-regulation has got on his nerves, even though he may not know it.

That we live in a new world is at best only partly true. We have a new world, but most of us do not yet live in it. It is not an easy thing to do. Some persons are still abusing Darwin.

We hooted the first man to use an umbrella. The hooters were probably persons above thirty years of age. In

my mind's eye I can see children following the umbrella man as they followed the Pied Piper. Some of these same children, I take it, later made makeshift imitations to use behind the barn on the next rainy day.

When new worlds are offered for old, it is the young who present themselves as buyers. Boys and girls in the colleges to-day cannot help being young, and they are making an attempt to live in this new world. Many of the things they do the public disapproves of, and, on the whole, they are getting rather the worst of it at the hands of their critics. Let us see how far they deserve it.

If we are to generalize at all, it is fair to say that the undergraduates of to-day are not so romantic as most of us were in the '90s. Even undergraduates who are fond of modern literature will not now wax enthusiastic over Stephen Phillips' *Marpessa* as we did then. Nearly all older professors of English tell us that there is a growing interest in courses which deal with the literature of the Age of Reason, with Pope and Dryden, and a decline of interest in the literature of romance and emotion as represented by Scott, Shelley and Byron. College glee clubs of the '90s could move their audiences with songs that appealed strongly to sentiment, like *Sweet Alice, Ben Bolt.* With a little refrain they could tap backed-up wells of sentiment ever ready to flow.

Such songs are not the fashion to-day. If on the programme at all, they are rendered with an amused sense of their historical interest. Our age does not wish to be deeply moved, as did the romantics. We wish to know and to be beguiled of our boredom. The literature which

the undergraduate reads is no longer the literature of fathomless devotion, of pathos, and tears. It appeals not to sentiment but to the simpler, often more brutal, instincts, and to the intelligence. Hemingway, Proust, Joyce, Aldous Huxley, T. S. Eliot, Cabell, Dreiser and Mencken, favorite authors of the intellectuals in the colleges, are certainly not of the school of Stevenson and Barrie; neither are they of the school of Meredith and Hardy.

Critics to whom all these changes are distressing never tire of telling us that the colleges have destroyed the undergraduate's religion. This is nonsense; for if there is one set of problems more earnestly discussed in college bickers than any other, it is these very problems of God, freedom and immortality which have constituted the fundamentals of religion in every age. It is true that students were never so critical of a poor sermon, and to them a poor sermon is one which appeals largely to sentiment or one oversweetened with sentimentality. But it is, I believe, also true that they were never more appreciative of a good one. It is the forms and the character of the appeal, but not the substance of religion that have changed.

We may say, if we wish, that the Age of Romance died during the World War, as the Age of Chivalry died in the French Revolution. If we do say this, we must be careful not to fall into that common error which assumes that the war killed it and that youth is still suffering from some sort of universal shell shock. Romance and the older romanticism were dying before the war, and so far as these changes in college youth are concerned, the war had almost nothing to do with them.

A prize was offered a few years ago for the best essay written by a college student on the subject: Is the American Undergraduate Suffering from a Postwar Neurosis?

I confess that I do not know precisely what a neurosis is. I console myself with the feeling that in this I am like many undergraduate contestants for that prize, and like some of their elders. In my time in college we never discussed neuroses. All we knew was a mysterious malady—nervous prostration. Fortunately it never attacked us, but once in a while we heard that one of our instructors was down with it.

It was not a commonplace ailment like scarlet fever or Bright's disease or consumption. It gave distinction to a professor's leave of absence. It set him apart; for we still tended to regard as superior anyone who had nerves. Now everybody has them and in varying fashions. The old generic "nervous prostration" has disappeared from the vocabulary of the educated. "Neurosis" is a better and a newer word. Above all, it is scientific, and any bright sophomore knows that if you wish to shut off the twaddle of some drooling conservative, the thing to do is to use a scientific term on him. It acts as a sedative. Tell him he has an Œdipus complex or that he is hypomanic and he will be frightened and subside. In this respect times have changed all around, and, whether they have new perversities or not, undergraduates to-day, with the rest of us, certainly have new words to conjure with.

On the whole, I was favorably impressed by the essay of the young man who won the prize. I could not escape the conclusion that it was better in several important re-

spects than anything any of my own classmates could have written under similar circumstances. There was no awkward sense of having taken his "pen in hand." It had candor and directness. He had none of that false modesty from which we all suffered, or pretended to suffer, a quarter of a century ago. He wrote far more simply, I believe, than any freshman of the '90s would have done, and his style testified that it is one of the blessings of the twentieth century that rhetoric has disappeared from the colleges. The substance as well as the form of what this young man had to say was attractively matter-of-fact.

He himself dismissed the talk of neurosis and a suicide wave as nonsense and blamed movie directors and writers of best sellers for having built up a false notion of college life. He found in the campus world about him that the hopelessly despondent student of philosophy is twice as rare as that other comparatively *rara avis,* the debauched student, and says:

> Between these two extremes moves, laughs and lives the great bulk of American undergraduates—the fellows who know Ruth's average to the fourth decimal and who know and care as little as possible about Schopenhauer's doctrine of human futility.

In this contest, essays were submitted from every type of college and from every part of the country. The most striking thing about them all was this: In the collegian of to-day, class consciousness has almost entirely disappeared. He does not feel that as a young man in the college he is different from any other young man. Within his dormitory walls, he has no sense of being isolated from

the world. He does not feel that he leads a life set off in any way from that of other youths who did not continue into college. The barriers between the university and society have broken down. The undergraduate of to-day, far more generally than his predecessors, talks like a young worldling, sometimes almost like a man of the world.

A good judge would rule out as irrelevant many of the criticisms directed against the undergraduate. The main count in these indictments is usually cynicism. Every student passes through certain phases in his progress from matriculation to commencement and we know that the attitude of a junior is no longer that of a freshman. A good many students must pass through the sophomoric stage. It is the drab caterpillar phase of many a gorgeous college butterfly. Fortunately it usually lasts only a term or two. During this period his attitude and expressions are often profoundly disillusioned and his conduct occasionally sensational. Critics of a certain kind then see in him the typical undergraduate.

I believe it was Will Rogers who defined collegians on the basis of their clothes and found that he was most collegiate "who must take two steps before his pants move." Judging by this standard, the prize must be given to the second-year man. He is the most collegiate. In the economy of the colleges we must have sophomores. They are undergraduates, but they are often rather queer ones. This type is, however, so far from representative that I have heard even freshmen qualify conduct that is hopelessly foolish as sophomoric.

The freshman is still rather innocent and has a certain

fear of the authorities. As he passes through the sophomoric stage he often loses this innocence and this deference. The result of his earlier training has then worn off and he has not yet taken on the good manners of the college. Instead, he feels his collegiate oats; he tries to bull the game; he "runs it out," as the juniors say, and he tries to make you think that he is it. For that reason he takes a superior attitude, which his critics again have been quick to seize upon.

This type of sophomore is sometimes really bored; he always pretends to be. For such a long, long time he had looked forward to being a college man! For so many years he had slaved to get in! Now he has really been in for nearly two years! In his short life that is a very long time. The future to which he had looked forward through all his boyhood is beginning to lie behind him.

This is awkward—exceedingly. He is still not eminent nor outstanding. He is overshadowed, cowed by the big men in college. The air about him is full of strange words like "psychiatry," "extroverts," "embryology," "metaphysics," of which he knows nothing. He does not dare inquire for fear of showing his ignorance, and it is only human to wish to count, to be somebody. For that reason he looks down, or pretends to, upon the whole works—upon the college, the curriculum and the professors who do not understand him. He tells the world what he thinks about it in devastating fashion. His seeming cynicism is a clear case of defensive reaction, the result of his painful sense of inferiority in the presence of all these upper classmen.

Of the four classes in college, it is his that suffers most from the inferiority complex. But in a little while they will get over it—that is, most of them will. A few remain sophomores all their lives. They would probably have done so even if they had never come to college. They are not typical of all mankind. Neither is the cynical lad in the sophomoric stage typical of American undergraduate life. Even other undergraduates do not take him seriously.

The new worlds which society learned to inhabit in the past were not brought about like this new world of ours. They have usually been the creations of great prophets like Gautama Buddha, Confucius or Christ, who have given their names to the civilizations they shaped. Sometimes important rôles have been played by religious reformers like Luther or Calvin, or political seers or visionaries like Rousseau and Robespierre. Now, for the first time in history, a new world has been forced upon men by scientists and inventors who had no moral or social aims in view.

The first makers of flying machines or of TNT were not thinking of the social or moral effects of their inventions. Nobody was. They were interested in what we might call research. Where we once had art for art's sake, which was bad enough, we now have business for business' sake, invention for invention's sake, science for science's sake—which may possibly be just as bad. By pure science we mean not only not applied science but science divorced from all moral or social considerations. In social consequences, the discoveries and inventions of science are considerably more far-reaching, for they eventually

alter the lives of great masses of men who would be but little affected by art and not at all affected by art for art's sake.

As a result of all this, ours is a world the various parts of which have not yet been successfully assembled; a world of little, often unsuspected, causes and big effects. Henry Ford and the unsung inventors of the cinema have more profoundly affected the lives of millions than have all the Presidents and senators of this century.

Having begun our era without a fundamental aim or plan, we have not yet developed competent moral or social engineers. Yet it is an age whose distinguishing characteristic lies in the fact that it has released, for use and abuse by ordinary man, stores of energy never dreamed of before. It is no wonder that old and young—especially the old, who knew a different world—are somewhat disoriented.

In his study of *Our Times,* Mark Sullivan gave a long list of the inventions and conceptions which began to affect our way of life after 1900. We can repeat only a few of them here—such as the long-distance telephone, wireless, jazz, bobbed hair, brain storm, the bootlegger, the hijacker, the airplane, the airship, antitoxins, the flapper, camouflage, propaganda, the automobile. In the few years since Mr. Sullivan's book appeared (1926) we have already been treated to the "talkie," have "televox" and are well on the way to television.

The undergraduate of to-day has grown up with these conceptions or things, he accepts them without question; to him they are second nature; yet even the names of

these things were unknown to his father's boyhood. Customs are stronger than men, and these things and the resulting changes have given him a somewhat different mentality from that of his predecessors. They have had far more to do with his state in grace or disgrace than the war.

It would be useless to attempt to catalogue in detail how life in the colleges has been affected by all this. It is safe to say that the now general use of the long-distance telephone, of the wireless and the radio and the automobile, to mention but a few, has made life, especially for the young, far more mobile and fluid. It is much less centred in the home and much less centred in the college; it is much less localized and much less easily supervised. I find it a matter of grave concern to many parents that the chaperon has disappeared. In this age of greater mobility, she has simply been outdistanced. The chase runs too far afield for her to follow her erstwhile protégées; they must shift for themselves. On the whole, as we shall attempt to explain in the chapter on "Romance in College," I believe that most of them do this very well.

It is a commonplace that our amusements affect our temperaments. Whether Spaniards have made bullfighting what it is, or whether bullfighting has made Spaniards what they are; or whether the Scotchman has made golf what it is, or whether golf has made the Scotchman what he is, are debatable but probably insoluble questions. In any case there are, in all forms of pastime, action and reaction.

The most popular amusement to-day is the cinema; it,

too, has had its effect. The boy or girl who comes to the college, and who has been attending the movies for the past six or eight years, has seen far more life than the ordinary undergraduate of 1895 ever dreamed of. The almost universal study of biology and the removal of the taboo on sex in contemporary literature and discussion have also, in this respect, tended to make them older than their predecessors were at their age.

All this does not mean that the undergraduate at eighteen, let us say, is to-day intellectually any more mature than he was twenty-five years ago. We are forcing him while still a lad to deal with problems which once confronted us only at our maturity. His lot is not an easy one, and in all this I feel that he has been given rather the worst of it. He has had a hugger-mugger world thrown at him—a world devised without a plan and as yet unmastered by his elders.

Whatever results these facts have had, it is nonsense to charge them up to his perversity. He did not invent the movie or the radio or the automobile, or even the study of biology. His elders did. Undergraduates are young men and, as has always been the case, they are living in the world which their elders have turned over to them. It is not my purpose here to discuss whether it is a poorer or a better world; let us merely remember that when we compromise and call it a new world, this attractive phrase may possibly be covering a multitude of sins.

There has recently been an outcry against the license and wickedness of the college press. It is probably not so good as it ought to be—things never are in this low world

of ours. I cannot remember during my time in college any case in which an institution felt called upon to suppress one of its student publications. Four or five years ago there seemed to be a veritable epidemic in all parts of the country. Within recent memory *The Bean Pot* of Boston University ran into difficulties. At Princeton a number of *The Nassau Literary Magazine* was suppressed. At the University of Chicago *The Phœnix* was taken out of the hands of its erstwhile editors; and, to cap the climax, for hail in harvest as the Germans say, a number of the Harvard *Lampoon* was denied the privilege of the United States mails. Cases could, of course, be multiplied, but it is only fair to say that in the last few years there seems to have been less trouble on this score.

When, however, older critics and alumni complain that college magazines are now nastier or more licentious, they should remember that in this regard not only the colleges but the whole world has changed—and possibly for the worse. The criticisms most frequently heard imply that undergraduates are guilty of conscious and deliberate violation of social usage. There are, to be sure, individual cases of impertinence, possibly of nastiness; but on the whole I believe this indictment, too, unwarranted by the facts.

Not long ago I had the privilege of attending a small conference of editors of college papers. They came from all parts of the country, a particularly attractive group, well-dressed, well-mannered, all of them unusually intelligent. There were a few other persons of my own age present. We were invited to discuss certain problems con-

cerning the college press. At an awkward turn, the word "morality" was mentioned. Several of the young writers buckled visibly. We hastened to make it a question not of morals but of manners, of propriety; not what it was good or bad to print, but what was proper or improper. There seemed to be a wide divergence of opinion between the younger and older persons present.

We floundered about in generalities and were getting nowhere. Our predicament seemed to call for desperate remedies. One of the elders had the idea that if he could cite an extreme case, some hopelessly vulgar expression, we would all agree that it was unprintable and could then argue back from that to some assignable limit. With reluctance, he mentioned what I believe is generally regarded as the most offensive phrase in the English language. To his surprise, the undergraduates took this quite coolly.

"Now none of you young gentlemen would think of printing that out in cold type for your readers," I hastened to add.

"Of course I would," interrupted a very nice young man; "it would be very much more realistic."

I mentioned offhand the names of ten or a dozen of the most reputable magazines in the country.

"Not one of their editors would dream of printing such a phrase," I protested.

There was a knowing smile on several faces, and a drawling Southerner spoke up with a matter-of-fact finality.

"Of course not; they are still too old-fogy; but a few

years ago I was up in New York and I saw the late Jeanne Eagles in *Rain*. She used that very expression. It was one of the hits of the performance and most of the audience looked to me to be respectably middle-aged."

As we left the interesting if ineffectual congress, a bewildered professorial colleague remarked bitterly, "The lid is off and there seems to be no limit."

Since the press is one of our surest barometers of convention and social custom, there has grown up the conviction that the American undergraduate is the ringleader in some wild Revolt of Youth, and in addition is up to certain new devilments of his own.

In this age we can no longer expect him to believe in Santa Claus—at least not on someone else's say-so. He is from Missouri; he is out to prove life for himself. He sees nothing sacrosanct in old-fashioned conventions and taboos. This we may have brought upon ourselves, for by lifting so many of them, we have raised a question in his mind about the validity of the rest. Many of the most alert minds in the colleges are curious about the question of sex, now forced upon them much earlier and much more insistently. This curiosity expresses itself without the slightest evil intent, and quite unconsciously often in the stories and essays they write. It is a question of contemporary taste. Their elders may console themselves, if they like, by believing that it is poor taste. But it is a taste that is country-wide, and it has a hundred manifestations in the social life which the parents and elders of undergraduates helped to create and in which they participate.

If the reader is old enough to be able to think back to the 90's and recall in detail the books he read and the things he did then, he will find that there is in such matters a fairly constant ratio. He will discover that as Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals* is to Walter Pater's *Appreciations,* as Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* is to Stevenson's *Master of Ballantrae,* as Dreiser's *American Tragedy* is to Tarkington's *Gentleman from Indiana,* as Sherwood Anderson's *Tar* is to Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower,* as the tabloids are to the lower register of the newspapers then, as his wife's clothes are to his mother's, as the movie he saw last night is to The Old Homestead, as the black-bottom is to the waltzes of Strauss—so the college magazine of to-day is to its predecessor of the 90's. If the undergraduate suffers from anything, he is suffering only from those things from which our country itself is suffering.

The theory which traced all undergraduate ills back to the war was comforting. It assumed that after the war's effects wore off—say, in five or ten years more—young men would be again what they were in the 1895 of blessed memory. In the chill discomfort which has come upon many of us, we have warmed our hands at this delusion; we must give it up. We knew in the 90's that men were of one sex and women of another, but we had agreed not to discuss the subject further.

Fortunately or unfortunately, things have gone too far for us to be able to force this distressing fact back into the status of an open secret avoided in polite conversation. Gentility is at a discount. The clock of civilization is

probably very far from being run down, but we cannot turn its hands back; we do not and we cannot know how the young artists, the poets, the novelists, to-day in the colleges will express themselves ten years from now. We can be sure of one thing only—they will not express themselves as did their predecessors of the 90's. It is entirely possible that they will not express themselves so well, but in every event, they will express themselves differently. We have changed our world from top to bottom, and where things have changed so rapidly, society is usually in for a long and often painful process of adjustment.

Intellectually and socially, we have not yet caught up with our own inventions and discoveries. We have created for ourselves a new heaven and a new earth—we must learn to live in them. This the college student is doing to-day far more successfully than his elders; he is going forward, whereas they, in the face of the new world which they themselves have created, are trying to bring back an irrevocable past. It is for this reason that, in spite of the undergraduate's occasional blunderings and his sometimes amusing pretensions, I find in his realistic, unromantic, matter-of-fact acceptance, the only promise that this somewhat baffling world will in any true sense ever become humanized.

CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLT OF THE SOPHOMORES

The reader should bear in mind that campus attitudes often shift and change. A few years ago when this chapter was first planned the revolt against authority as is here indicated was already on the wane. It has since declined to such a degree that I have at some points modified my earlier statements. With this caution I feel it can safely stand since isolated cases of these attitudes are forever recurring among underclassmen.

NOT many months ago it was my unpleasant duty to summon an undergraduate for having taken more absences than the law allowed. In most colleges the law in this matter is rather lax, though undergraduates find it oppressive. Until they reach the danger line the college usually gives them rope. Then it brings them up with a fairly sharp turn—that is, it warns, then threatens.

So it was in this case. My young friend—Wilbert, we shall call him—a chronic sinner in this regard, was a sophomore. True humanity, Goethe said, redeems all human failings. Wilbert possessed many sophomoric traits, but like nearly all young men, he possessed an engaging personality which redeemed them. He was plainly bored as he sat in the chair before me—bored and a little nervous, for the tips of his fingers tapped the cover of the closed book on his knee.

I began by telling him that I was compelled to call him in because he had already taken the full number of cuts

allowed for the whole term, and there was still, unfortunately, a considerable part of the term left. His timing had been defective. Up to this point he had been free and no one had inquired why he had absented himself. He had now lost this privilege. He must watch his step.

He could henceforth take none but necessary cuts. What were necessary cuts? Those, I explained, were cuts taken because of serious illness or in case of some urgent summons home. In this event, he would have to consult me first.

"You mean," he asked, "if I want to go home I have to come in and ask your permission?" I assured him that I meant exactly that. "Fiddle!" he jerked out to himself. Then he added, with a dash of harmless impertinence: "How does this college get that way?"

I am afraid that I threatened, but I don't remember. I do remember that, as he rose to go, he shot at me that Parthian arrow, the sting of which every college official of our time has felt: "Why don't you treat us like men?"

As he banged the door, I had the feeling that I would see that young man again.

If you meet Bill Smith, an undergraduate, on Tuesday and ask him how he is making it, he may tell you, "Fine!" If you meet him the following day, even when nothing of consequence has happened to him in the interval, he will tell you, "Not so good." Now this would not necessarily be a disadvantage in dealing with Mr. Smith except that sometimes he expects you to treat him one way when things are fine and in quite another way when things are not so good. How are you to know? The collective temper

of a college, made up as it is of such young men, is more mercurial than the temper of an equal body of older and less responsive persons. In one year, in some particular college, it may be *de rigueur* to dress well. In another year it will be the fashion to don "shorts" or overalls. Similarly, a newly elected student council may rescind an action unanimously approved the previous year. The new editorial board of a college paper will approve a policy which its immediate predecessors deplored.

There is much about every college that is particular to it, local in the strictest sense. Such particular customs, whose origin is to be sought in local conditions, need not concern us. At certain times, however—and the present is such a time—there are heard upon the different campuses throughout the country the same protests. Common slogans spring up.

These are not local and call for more careful study; they are social phenomena of considerable importance. They are not merely collegiate; they do not spread from college to college. Instead, they spread from the country to all the colleges, and are frequently the reflections of some underlying social condition in the country at large.

Such a slogan just now is: "Treat us like men." This is the form taken by any protest against restraints—against all rules and regulations. I do not recall ever having heard this protest before 1918. My generation in college never dreamed of it, and this was not because we had any higher degree of confidence in our professors. We simply never questioned their right to rule. But to-day we hear the war cry everywhere; sometimes it emerges in an isolated case,

sometimes it gathers volume to a roar that can be heard in every corner of the campus: "Treat us like men."

Shall there be rules governing attendance? The following extract from a student publication is typical of a hundred undergraduate answers evoked throughout the country when this question was given prominence a few years ago.

> We are fully convinced that it is an obligation that an intelligent man owes to himself to cut, as often as seems necessary for the enjoyment of a course, the lectures of an uninspired and uninspiring professor.
>
> An overcut slip does not always indicate the shirker; it may reveal a student's attempt to save a subject from its professor.

It sounds reasonable. There are professors who are uninspired; there are some who are uninspiring—especially to the uninterested student. But I know of a university which a few years ago did, for upper classmen, abolish virtually all restrictions upon cutting. It was slyly assumed by some that the action would either stimulate or smoke out the poorer lecturers.

On this score the results were disappointing; for when the returns of the new system were checked up it was found that undergraduates did not cut the lectures of uninspired professors only. Indeed, you could not tell from the records which professors were uninspired and which inspired. Some, to be sure, suffered more cuts than others. But the results did prove that many undergraduates cut particularly all lectures that came at inconvenient hours—at eight o'clock, or on Saturdays or Mondays. At such times even the most popular professors suffered.

Another result also was rather striking. It was not the best but the poorest students who took most absences. For this reason the cutting privilege in that particular university was later restricted to men of high scholastic standing.

There are, however, signs of an increasing sense of responsibility among undergraduates. Harvard, for instance, felt justified three years ago in granting unlimited cuts to upper classmen. Princeton and a number of other universities have since done the same for seniors and the repetition of this experiment is being watched with interest. In many other colleges unlimited cuts are given to every undergraduate who maintains a high standing in his classes. The less studious man does not like this arrangement. He says, "Let me cut and take the consequences."

But this is the way he talks only when he wants to cut, and not the way he and his father talk when you are ready with the consequences.

This problem in the colleges is quite similar to that occasionally presented, of recent years, by radicals everywhere. Shall the factory be turned over to the workers and be run by a workingmen's council? Shall the colleges be turned over to the students and be run by undergraduate committees? There are many earnest students who favor this latter arrangement. But they, like some of the radicals, forget that they are not the only interested parties.

State universities and endowed colleges are charitable institutions, founded for the deliberate purpose of giving away education.

That is why they have regents, trustees or overseers to

carry out the will of the founders; and that is why these boards employ professors to dispense, and not to dispense with, education. Regents and faculty, even if they so desired, could not legally turn a campus into a country club or a Coney Island. That is also the reason why, even if they so desired, they sometimes perhaps unfortunately cannot abolish chapel, or some form of religious worship or instruction.

Yet there are undergraduates, beneficiaries under these trusts, who hold that they, the beneficiaries, should have all these powers, including the right to decide what shall constitute an education, what courses shall be taught and who shall teach them.

They probably do not know that in the universities of the Middle Ages students did have this right to hire and fire their teachers, and that the system did not last and was not satisfactory even to the students—to say nothing of their professors.

Waiving the question of curriculum, however, nearly all students insist that they should have complete control of at least noncurricular undergraduate activities and conduct. This would, of course, imply control of athletics. Here history, whatever it is worth, is against the radical view.

In the early decades of intercollegiate competition, undergraduates did have such control. But college sports were never at so low an ebb. Graduate managers and faculty control were then eagerly sought as the one remedy for a situation which had become almost hopeless.

The unquestioned good introduced into athletics—the

creation of departments of health, with trained directors and physicians; the introduction of medical examinations and physical training for all; the rules of eligibility in intercollegiate competitions, are the results of consistent, long-continued policies formulated and made effective, not by shifting groups of undergraduates but by permanent boards and continuing faculty committees.

These committees assume financial and executive burdens of a magnitude not appreciated by the public or by the undergraduates. For instance, in some institutions the total budget handled by these boards of control runs to half a million dollars. One big game in a stadium involves weeks of work by a permanent, trained and paid corps of assistants. To assume such responsibilities it is not enough that undergraduates should be men; they must also be business men. But even if they are, they will find their time and capacities so heavily drawn upon that they will have little time for their studies.

There are universities in the country to-day which have gone a long way in this direction. The most striking instance is, perhaps, the University of California, where the Student Association has been given nominal and perhaps even virtual control of all undergraduate activities. But even there, they are required, under their constitution, to appoint, in consultation with alumni advisers, a paid graduate manager.

But, some will say, aside from athletics the problem is simple. Let all other organizations be turned over to the particular group of undergraduates who are interested, and let that group operate without faculty supervision.

In many colleges all such nonathletic organizations calling for any large expenditure of funds are administered by a joint committee of faculty and undergraduates. These activities include theatrical organizations, glee and banjo clubs, orchestras, debating teams, dance committees and publications, particularly such as are not self-supporting.

Some of the most deserving of these, like debating teams, if they are to exist at all, must have support from others which make larger profits—just as in athletics, crews and track teams must be supported by the revenue from football. At one university the committee governing these organizations is responsible for an annual budget of nearly a hundred thousand dollars, and has learned by experience that, for safety's sake, it must carry over a balance of fifteen thousand. It is difficult to do this where you have a continually shifting personnel of undergraduates only, and where a new group with little or no experience yearly takes the place of the departing seniors.

Restlessness under authority is not something confined to the colleges, but is something quite human and deeply rooted in our natures. It cannot therefore be dismissed as a passing whim of the collegians of to-day. Undoubtedly much can and has been done in the universities to ease the situation, and I believe that the majority of college men to-day, especially upper classmen, show a higher degree of responsibility than they did twenty-five or even ten years ago. But I believe also that the most radical undergraduates, in view of the complexities of their problem, will reduce their demands and be content eventually with joint responsibility with faculty, regents or trustees.

The demand for a more self-respecting form of undergraduate government is, on the whole, a good sign and should be welcomed. In many cases, however, the demand, "Treat us like men," is not really a request for self-government. It is merely the latest form of protest on the part of young men who sometimes do not wish to be governed at all. Unlike our radicals, they have no thought of governing themselves. This is more especially true of under classmen. Such was the case of my friend, the sophomore, Wilbert, who defiantly raised that cry when he was up for violating the absence rule.

I saw him again, even sooner than I had expected, but this time he had changed his tune. With three other sophomores, he had been summoned on a charge of disorderly conduct and wilful destruction of property. They roomed on the upper floor of one of the older dormitories and were reported as having torn down the banister, damaged the plaster and ruined the paper on the walls and ceiling below.

I explained the gravity of the charge: It cost the university nine thousand dollars annually to make good just such destruction. We do not always know who is responsible, but in this case we did and I may have laid it on a bit for Wilbert's benefit. The dormitory, I explained, was their home. It was like a man's club; and had the members of a man's club been guilty of such conduct and wanton destruction, they would have been ejected from the premises and compelled to resign.

This time Wilbert was not at all forward. He said nothing and fidgeted at that phrase, "compelled to resign."

One of his classmates, a bright-eyed lad quite without guile, took up the defense: I must remember that it was not intentional. The four of them roomed on opposite sides of the hall. They had been working hard all evening and when ten o'clock struck they needed a little relief. It had begun by their throwing pitchers of water at one another. Probably some of it had splashed on the walls and ceilings. Then someone caught hold of the banister. It just gave way.

"So it was only a boyish prank?" I inquired. They all nodded enthusiastically. I assessed the damage—which in the old building was inconsiderable—and said that the bill would be sent to their fathers.

"Now, as for the rest," I concluded, "do you wish to be treated like men or like—boys?"

And even Wilbert, in this case, elected not to be treated like a man.

So it is in many cases where an earnest undergraduate, with Utopian theories, comes into contact with the tangled facts of our highly complicated world. And as hardened college officials of to-day listen to the young advocates of such theories, they are reminded of a little passage at arms between Catherine the Great of Russia and the French philosopher, Diderot. Catherine was, without doubt, a tyrant; but nevertheless she was fond of the great liberal, and they got along famously—up to a certain point. During one of his visits to St. Petersburg he spent many hours with her in earnest discussion of the evils of tyranny and the incomparable advantages to be found in a frank acceptance of the rights of man. Catherine the

Great listened, entranced by the eloquence of her friend. At one point only she hesitated.

Finally she said to him: "Monsieur Diderot, you are a philosopher. With your theories one can make a very good book but a very poor business. You write on paper, which suffers everything. But I, poor empress, must write on the human skin—which is far more irritable and ticklish."

Most college presidents and deans have one thing in common with the Empress Catherine: They know many Diderots and they, too, have to write upon the human skin—upon the undergraduate's and upon his father's. Both of them, also, are highly irritable and ticklish.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMEDY OF LEADERSHIP

IN history, certain misleading phrases, like certain misguided individuals, have done incalculable harm. "The king can do no wrong" was such a phrase. The notion of natural rights as typified in "The world owes me a living" belongs in the same dismal category. They forestall investigation. Man's indolent habit grants such phrases long life. You do not need to pursue a tantalizing line of thought farther after you have found one. Once such a phrase has clicked into the receptive mind, it is hard to dislodge it. An aphorism may be untrue, but it is always labor-saving. It economizes effort, for it is difficult with legitimate arguments to convince a persistent, hard-headed opponent, while it is easy, especially in the presence of a crowd, to knock him down with a slogan. It is worth our while in this connection to examine some of these catchwords which have recently become popular in our discussions of higher education.

Not very long ago one of our largest American universities sent out a questionnaire to about 150 colleges in an effort to determine what qualifications, if any, besides previous intellectual training, they were demanding of candidates for entrance. Most of these colleges were not

attempting to restrict enrollment, yet fifty of them replied that men were admitted not only on the basis of their knowledge of so-called entrance subjects but that qualities of leadership also were required.

When an American professor is called upon to recommend a candidate for one of the Rhodes scholarships at Oxford, he is requested to testify not only to the candidate's scholarship and to his manly qualities but also to his possession of these same qualities of leadership. I confess I have always been somewhat embarrassed by this opposition which is being set up in the colleges between their good scholars and their leaders. It used to be assumed that a man who stood at the head of his class was a leader. Thirty or forty years ago we did not embarrass a lad by calling him this big name, but we expected most from the men who, in college, had learned most about physics or chemistry or Latin or mathematics or medicine or law. If a student had done this, we thought he was qualified to take his place in the world. Now we expect something quite different, and in addition to or in default of scholarly aptitude the colleges are accepting something else as just as good, or possibly a little better.

It is quite proper that we should require of candidates for higher education something more than mere book learning. Former President Little, of the University of Michigan, made it plain that in his opinion the man who had received an education from the State owed something to the State in return. Public education, an education obtained at the expense of the public, like public office, is a public trust. No criminal is so dangerous as an educated

criminal. It is for this reason that from time immemorial colleges have demanded of candidates for admission a certificate of good character. In these piping times of ours we are, however, setting up another hurdle. We are requiring in addition evidence of leadership.

There is an initial difficulty about all this, but then the course of true education never did run smooth. When the prospective freshman knocks at the gate it is a simple matter for the college to discover whether he knows any Latin or algebra or English or history. The college sets him an examination and reads the answers. In most cases they tell the story. A certificate from the principal of the school from which the boy comes will on this score also provide reliable testimony. Character and leadership are, however, more difficult to discover. It is an open secret to all college officials that every candidate has a character. He can in any case bring a written one. Everybody's son, when his parent is seeking admission for him, has a good character. Almost every school graduate, according to his head master or principal, has at least a passable one, or else of course the school would not have granted him its diploma.

Character is something which you must discover after the applicant has entered college. What the director of admissions does not know will not hurt the candidate. It is occasionally regrettable that the college did not know in time how unformed the character of their applicant was. They might have done something to improve it instead of later having to dismiss him as hopeless. I have never yet found a college reprobate who had to be dismissed for serious delinquency who had not been able to bring a

thoroughly creditable certificate of character—often one signed by a clergyman.

Now no one will deny that qualities of leadership also are an asset. They are, however, at sixteen or eighteen equally difficult to discover. You cannot ask an applicant point-blank, "Are you a leader?" He is usually a modest chap and would be embarrassed. His parents, when forced to testify, feel no such embarrassment. They often answer the question even if it is not put to them, and they all answer it in precisely the same way. Every mother's son is a leader. Where the applicant is called upon to give references, he almost never names his own friends and school classmates who know him well, but older friends of his parents who do not. They know only the family. Usually it is a minister, a prominent business man or an alumnus.

After reading thousands of such testimonials, directors of admission and entrance committees have on almost unanimous testimony sadly reached the conclusion that the son of everybody's friend is also a leader. This is gratifying to our American pride, but hardly useful in a selective process. Where the writer of such a letter leaves any possibility of doubt, it is usually because he admits—by implication—that he does not know the applicant. In such cases he concentrates upon the candidate's father and leaves no doubt that the father too is a leader in his community.

The attempt to determine aptitude for college on the basis of qualities of leadership has, on the whole, not been a success. Leaders at the age of sixteen have become al-

together too common. They are a drug on the academic market. But many of the colleges are unwilling to let well enough alone, and they are insisting not only that their youthful candidates be leaders when they enter college but they have been telling these same young men that it is the primary purpose of the college to develop these qualities of leadership still farther and so make them irresistible.

A revolt which took place in one of the smaller colleges of the East is still fresh in the minds of many. Some of the undergraduates went out on strike. They were insisting that certain restraints be removed and that responsibilities which had always rested upon the faculty be devolved upon the students. There was even talk of their deciding what subjects should be taught and who should teach them. When, some time after the hubbub, I met the very able president of this college I was astonished to find how coolly he took all this.

"You know," he explained, rather in sorrow than in anger, "it is all our own fault. We have brought this upon ourselves. We have been telling young men and boys for so many years, at every high school and college commencement, 'You are the hope of the future, the leaders of the nation,' that they are beginning to take us at our word. They wish to exercise those talents for leadership which we have so excessively attributed to them."

A comparison of the statements made by the founders of some of our oldest American colleges with the statements of some of their recent successors will indicate quite clearly the change which has come over this country in

its attitude toward the function of higher education. The preamble to the charter of Harvard College, bearing the date May 31, 1650, reads:

> Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well-devoted persons have been, and daily are, moved and stirred up to give and bestow sundry gifts . . . for the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences in Harvard College . . . and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness.

Yale was founded in 1701 when the General Assembly of the colony granted a charter for the foundation of a collegiate school whose purpose was to prepare young men for service "in Church & Civil State."

At William and Mary the same ends were in view. Princeton had been founded, so the old document of 1748 tells us, "For the Benefit of the Inhabitants of the said province" and because "of the great Necessity of coming into some Method for encouraging and promoting a learned Education of our Youth in New Jersey."

The Dartmouth charter of 1769 makes it plain that the founders were concerned

> For the education and instruction of youths of the Indian tribes in this land in reading, writing and all parts of learning, which shall appear necessary and expedient, for civilizing and christianizing the children of pagans, as well as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youths, and any others.

It will be found that the word "leadership" is strikingly absent from these sober, old-fashioned documents; yet in those days the percentage of the population that went to

the colleges was severely restricted by the conditions of pioneer life. I do not believe that the phrase will be found in the acts creating the older state universities. It is different in many of the colleges of recent foundation.

A struggling college in the Central South prints the following statement of its educational ideals:

> We therefore favor the policy of selecting carefully all students, this selection to be made on the basis of moral character, intellectual fitness and preparation, qualities of leadership.

A statement by the president of a recently founded college in the far Northwest carries us into the heart of the new dispensation:

> The study of many catalogues will reveal the fact that certain courses and requirements are considered fundamental to the accomplishment of the task of higher education in preparing leadership.

In a Central Western college catalogue we find:

> A great educational programme is necessary for any people who would contribute their part in leadership and power.

In the Middle West also this rich promise is held out, and a college there not only "offers a most unique opportunity for the development of community leadership" but it conducts seminar courses in "Christian leadership" as well. It would be monotonous to multiply such quotations which would merely ring in the changes on this newfangled word now heard on all sides in academic circles.

At an educational convention not very long ago I enjoyed the privilege of sitting beside a man long recognized as a distinguished figure in higher education in this country. The word "leadership" had been used in some of the discussions. He was profoundly discouraged and I tried feebly to cheer him, but he closed the conversation with the remark: "We have inflated higher education in this country to such a point that it is an almost worthless currency. The first thing we must do is to deflate it and put it back upon a sound-money basis."

My elderly friend dated from an earlier time and he evidently had been unable to adjust himself to present conditions. It is probable that he was more pessimistic than the situation warrants. But it is only fair to him to say that he was not thinking primarily of the wastage of hard-earned dollars and cents.

The sums of money involved in higher education are, to be sure, considerable. The endowments contributed for this purpose in the United States amount to $1,000,000,000, and the physical plants of the universities are worth as much more. Outside of what is paid for board and room, the annual cost of conducting these institutions amounts to $300,000,000. It is perfectly proper therefore to ask the question: "Are we getting our money's worth?" And men in the business of education should be prepared to answer it.

Personally, I do not believe that the sums spent for higher education in this country are too large. They are not too large, for instance, if we use as a basis of comparison the sums spent annually for naval or military pur-

poses. I believe all reasonable men, however, are convinced that all these sums are not spent as wisely as might be. However that may stand, before the process of financial deflation and readjustment can begin we must eliminate from contemporary discussion of higher education some of these bulging phrases.

First of all, we should recognize frankly that the percentage of our population to which we are attempting to give higher education is immensely larger than it is in the most highly civilized and educationally best organized European countries. In 1925 Great Britain, with a population of 43,000,000, had about 46,000 men enrolled in its institutions of higher learning. Germany, with 63,000,000, had 68,000 such students. France, with 40,000,000 in 1924, had 53,000 aspirants to higher education. At the same time in the United States, with 117,000,000, we had 664,266; that is, with a population twice that of Germany, which has always been keenly interested in scholarship, we in this country already had ten times as many college students. Yet so rapid has been the increase that by 1930 the Bureau of Education at Washington had announced that there were over a million young men and women in our colleges.

It is true that as compared with Europe we have been exceedingly prosperous. Financially speaking, more of our young men and women can afford to spend four years in college. But the financial status of a young man or of his family should not be the only condition which determines his matriculation. In a democracy it should be possible for any boy to go to college no matter how poor or how rich.

Whether poor or rich, he should be allowed to go only, however, in case higher education of this type will be good for him and good for the community at large.

Two years ago a distinguished European scientist and professor spent some months in our country making a survey of our colleges and universities. He was deeply impressed. Before he left he stated his conclusions on American higher education as follows:

> In your country you teach everything, even those things which involve almost no theory and are largely matters of experience and practice. In some of your colleges I found that you teach cement mixing, the packing of eggs and fruit, ice-cream making, sewing and dressmaking. You even teach teaching, and have great schools of education or pedagogy. You have the best equipped and most magnificent newspaper offices in the world. From my personal experience, I know also that you have the most enterprising newspaper men, yet you teach journalism in the colleges.
>
> In one respect, I cannot understand the logic of your position. Here in America you had developed in the school of experience and without formal courses the ablest business men and captains of industry in the world. You were not satisfied. Now you have added to your colleges great schools of business and commerce. You are more idealistic than we are. You have a more naïve faith in education than we have in Europe.

For the time being let us merely note that here again a distinguished European observer has tagged us with the adjective "idealistic." He did not necessarily intend it as a compliment. Shall we take it as such?

What our European critic told us about our education for business is probably true also of our newer notion of education for leadership. We were blessed by excellent leaders in this country before the colleges ever dreamed of

making it their business to prepare them. Washington was such a leader, and so was Lincoln. The majority of our great American artists—painters like George Inness and Winslow Homer—had not enjoyed the possibly doubtful benefit, in their case, of academic training. It has been possible for men like Mark Twain, Walt Whitman and Sherwood Anderson to succeed even in literature without it, just as it has been possible for the Wright brothers, for Henry Ford and Edison, to achieve a quite reasonable degree of success in invention and industry. In the days of our prosperity, however, we are trying to make an essentially difficult process easier and we enregiment our young men for leadership by enrolling them in the colleges.

"Come to us," the college says to the eager lad, "and we will make you a leader. You will have four years of college life thrown in."

Is it any wonder that about one million of them are now in the colleges and that too large a percentage are disappointed and unhappy failures? We have overdone it. We have made it all too easy and promising. President Angell, of Yale, put the case very forcibly before the superintendents of schools in his address before the National Education Association at a meeting in Boston:

> The whole political-educational conception under which we are working is too largely that a college or university education is open at little or no cost to anyone of moderate capacity and still more moderate powers of application. There is little or no sense of privilege about it and practically no sense of obligation. Merely to multiply the number of college-trained youths who go back into the community with no vivid feeling of duty to capitalize for the

benefit of the commonwealth the training they have received is quite as likely to prove a curse as a blessing for the state.

In the meantime the movement to found more and more junior colleges proceeds unabated, while the older institutions attempt to stem the tide by processes of selective admission. To ask for qualities of leadership does not, however, seem to have helped. The colleges which have tried it are beginning to develop a healthy skepticism.

Some months ago I stopped in to visit a friend who is the dean of a college which several years ago was forced to restrict its enrollment rather drastically. It, too, had insisted that its youthful applicants possess qualities of leadership. It was plain to me that I was intruding upon one of his busier days. The benches in front of his office were crowded with unhappy young men. A number of them were particularly well set up—good football or crew material. Some of them would have made excellent cowboys, ranchers or mounted policemen, but their disconsolate faces were those of the academically damned. All hope had left them.

My friend apologized for being so busy and explained that the college had just ended its mid-year examinations a week before.

"You see, I am calling in my failures. I am dismissing my leaders." He smiled sadly when he said this. I smiled too, though I believe I was not expected to, for he continued earnestly: "You know, it is no laughing matter. Some of our greatest leaders are our poorest students."

The significance of this remark will be evident to anyone who ponders the question: Who are the leaders at the

age of sixteen? It will be even plainer if he will begin a little lower in the scale and ask: Who are the leaders at five and six?

One of the directors of a great educational foundation threw an unexpected light on this subject for me in a recent conversation. During the summer months he had been living in a cottage on the seashore and commuting to his office. Every morning and evening he met the daughter of his neighbor. She was a blue-eyed, bright-faced child, still so young that her hair had not yet been bobbed, but hung loose above her shoulders. One night on his return he met her with her hair plaited into two hard straw-colored, blue-ribboned little pigtails. She apparently expected some comment and he complimented her upon her grown-up appearance.

"Yes," she answered proudly, "I'm five years old. My brother's seven, and what's more, he wears suspenders."

Evidently to age five an added two years, with their necessary accouterments, mean a great deal.

A boy's perspective changes, to be sure, as he passes into his teens; but to the lad of fourteen his classmate of sixteen still possesses a very considerable advantage, particularly if he is big and strong and proficient in athletics. The older boys in school are for this reason most likely to be the leaders.

Now these oldest members of any class are very often those least proficient in their studies. That is why they have fallen behind. But in a community of American youth the boy who carries himself well, who is a good pitcher, fullback or hurdler, will be more looked up to by

his fellows than the younger student who spends most of his time over his books and leads his class in Latin or algebra.

I believe it is fair to say that the class officers in freshman classes in college are chosen in overwhelming majority from the members of the football squad. This is neither vicious nor unnatural, but it results often in the situation to which my unhappy colleague had called attention. Even if we did succeed in obtaining those regarded as leaders in the high schools, we should not necessarily be getting the candidates best suited to profit by higher education.

I am not attempting to lay down here what the proper qualifications for admission to college should be. I do not believe that they should be exclusively scholastic. There should be evidence, if a man is to be educated at the expense of others, that such education will redound to the benefit of his fellows. What I wish to show here is that the colleges at present are suffering from an overemphasis upon the idea of leadership and that a man of twenty-two who goes back to his community with an exaggerated confidence in his ability as a leader will be of very little use to himself and of none to the community.

I believe that some of the problems in the colleges today are the result of this overemphasis. Youth has ever been eager and enthusiastic, and therefore restless. They have always found it difficult even in the very good old times to be entirely at ease and happy under the instruction of their elders in the cage of a college. This restlessness has increased with the promulgation by the colleges

themselves of the notion of leadership. Occasionally it results in unhappiness. I am sure many college officials have been nonplussed by amusing if regrettable misunderstandings like one in which I became involved not many weeks ago.

An undergraduate, a junior in college, a fair but not a brilliant student, hardworking, possibly a shade too solemn for one so young, used to drop in to see me in the late afternoons. He had discussed with me previously college problems in general and some of his own difficulties in particular. He came in to see me the other day and I thought this visit would be somewhat on the same order.

He threw me off completely by asking me point-blank, "Do you think a father should send his son to college?"

That was where I lost him. I did not catch his drift and so I spoiled it all by asking, "Whose son are you thinking of?"

"Of course," he answered, in a hurt but matter-of-fact way, "I was thinking of my own son—when I have one."

My mistake lay in forgetting that nowadays, with all this pressure, a lad of eighteen is often no longer a boy. At the pace we are going he has sometimes already become an expectant parent. My young friend was really in deep trouble. Sensitive, shy, serious, he was excellent college material, yet he was beginning to be convinced that he was a failure. With only a year and a half still to go, his rigorous honesty would not allow him to believe that he was in any sense a leader.

As is often the case with the troubles of boys in college,

his difficulty came from his home. He had been made to feel his responsibilities too heavily ever to be a good fellow or popular. His mother was forever inquiring as to whether he had been elected to this or that. It was not enough for her that he was behaving himself admirably and spending more time than usual upon his work. She had wanted him to make a good club. I am sure she would have increased his allowance if he had been elected manager of the band or member of the banjo club or the Nightriders. She wanted him to be a leader. He knew he was not, and under the pressure of scant recognition from more buoyantly spirited undergraduates and the continuing disappointments and implied reproaches at home, he wished to throw up the academic sponge and hand in his resignation.

Fortunately, however, most undergraduates of the present are thicker-skinned. Upon such the everlasting talk of leadership at high-school and college commencements makes little impression. There is so much nonsense in the air nowadays that they have established a toleration to it. They can resist a good deal of it, even where it comes, as in this case, from above. They often have more common sense than their elders. They know that a leader is one who has followers. The 2,000, 5,000 or 10,000 men in any one college cannot all be leaders. Only the straggling faculty would be left to follow them. Even this country, which has less than 30,000 names in *Who's Who,* cannot make a place for the million reputed leaders now in the colleges, and where would we be if all these leaders ever started to march in different directions?

At a critical period in the history of higher education in America, when we were not quite certain of what the aim of the college should be, we invented the labor-saving but mischievous phrase "education for leadership." It is, of course, of the highest importance that in a democracy there should be men of sterling character to whom their fellows will look for guidance, but such character and such leadership are and must always be the by-products of useful and devoted lives.

A boy who gives himself whole-heartedly to the round of his daily duties with the idea of performing them as well as he possibly can will develop those qualities of manliness, persistence and loyalty which are the basis of character. On the other hand, a boy who is too much concerned with developing his talents for leadership often regards his humdrum work in college or later in the office as secondary, and neglects the immediate and sometimes uninviting task before him. The young man in college who, regardless of what his fellows may think of him, devotes himself to the study of chemistry with the intention of penetrating the mysteries of nature will, after very many long years, perhaps when he is fifty, be recognized by other chemists as a leader. He may become a leader only if he forgets all about leadership and tries merely to make of himself a good chemist. So it will be with any man who earnestly studies English or mathematics or medicine, or any other subject for its own sake.

With regard to leadership, it is strikingly true that he who loses his life shall save it. We have put the cart before the horse and must unhitch and start over again. We

must begin the necessary process of deflating higher education. One of our first steps, if we are to get back upon a sound-money basis, will be to get rid of this unfortunate and often pernicious nonsense about leadership.

CHAPTER VIII

ROMANCE IN COLLEGE

NOT very long ago the charming wife of one of our professors called me up at my office and in considerable embarrassment asked me to grant her a private interview. She could not possibly tell me her reasons over the telephone. I arranged to take tea with her the next afternoon. When I called she was more embarrassed than before and regretted having made the appointment. She apologized and explained that it was not a pleasant subject and since unpleasant subjects had long since ceased to be a treat to me, I was quite willing to forgive and forget the apparently false alarm. For perhaps ten minutes we pretended that this was just a chance meeting of old friends. Try as we would, however, we could not plow under what was uppermost in her mind and she finally came out with her astonishing story.

My hostess was herself a college graduate and reminded me that she had been a teacher of young men and women twenty-five years ago. She knew youth well as it had been at the turn of the century. She had just returned from a visit to one of her own classmates who was teaching in a large coeducational university. In the course of the visit her old friend had told her of the contemporary attitude of the young toward matters of sex. It was not merely a question of "petting" and "necking." She had cited instances of more shocking types of delinquency and insisted

that certain scandalous practices were common. They would indicate that the attitude toward sex was ultra matter of fact, incontinence was the rule rather than the exception and the general code tolerated if it did not encourage a deplorable laxity. The old idea of chastity was no longer held, not even by young women. "Virgin" was a term of reproach and meant only a backward, unattractive, unsophisticated person in an age when sophistication was a virtue. Love and romance were fast disappearing and giving place to a sensuality which was no longer touched or sublimated by any appreciable degree of sentiment.

Hard as it was for my hostess to tell me this she explained that she was compelled to do so because her own position of ignorance was intolerable. Her husband's students frequently called at her house. She would never have dreamed they were guilty of this but she was afraid it must be true of her friend's university and she wished to know about the college world in which she herself was living. Were the undergraduates on our own campus whom she knew and had respected, like this?

The subject, alas, was not new to me. Once they declare themselves, social fears like social practices become contagious. According to the proverb, everybody's aunt has seen a ghost. Evidently many people felt this way and even among older persons not a few, in spite of their old-time repugnance, were beginning to discuss this real or imagined moral collapse. I remembered that an old friend of mine, a graduate of a coeducational university and once an ardent defender of that system, had told me a few

weeks before that he had decided he could not send his daughter to his own alma mater. He was an intelligent, highly successful chemist and he had for a time been a professor in his own university. One of his former colleagues had told him of conditions there which were not altogether unlike what had been repeated to my hostess. A former student of my own whom I had taught twenty-five years before and who had a son about to enter college had also raised the same question with me. He had heard from more recent alumni a great deal about this increasing undergraduate laxity. It was evidently a matter of general concern. Was it true that the Age of Romance was dead?

Of course we must admit that men's colleges and women's colleges do not now in the slightest degree resemble monasteries or nunneries. No such thing as the secluded college of the past for men or for women any longer exists anywhere. The student in the once remote country college to-day remains a member of the social world. Unlike Oxford or Cambridge, our institutions for young men have been unable or unwilling to insist that the undergraduate shall not absent himself during term time. In most of them, therefore, he comes and goes as he chooses, subject only to such indirect conditions as are imposed by the demand that he attend a certain percentage of his classes or a certain number of Sunday chapel services. Where there is no Sunday chapel requirement (and in many cases there is none), he is always free to absent himself over the week-ends. In not a few cases he has been known to choose his studies in such fashion that his

last recitation of the week would fall on Thursday morning and he would be free to spend from Thursday to Monday wherever he chose. He might, of course, and he often did, choose to spend a considerable part of this time with the young ladies of his acquaintance.

What was to me an amusing illustration of this tendency happened last spring. A junior had asked me for an appointment. He was in doubt about his future profession and wished to discuss this problem of his choice of a career. If he elected to go into medicine it would mean serious changes in the course of study he had planned. As this was a more important matter than could be settled in the few minutes I had been able to keep free for him, I asked him to come around Saturday afternoon. It was impossible. I suggested the following Saturday. "Well, you know," he told me, "I am never here on Saturdays." This privilege of leaving whenever he had no set classes had come to be regarded by this undergraduate as so sacred and inalienable a right that it must not be interfered with even in his own interest. It amounted to an obligation. He felt that on Saturdays he just had to leave the campus on principle. There are some few like him in most men's colleges.

The women's colleges have not gone quite so far in recognizing this real or supposed right of undergraduates. They restrict the number of week-ends a girl may spend away from college and allow her anywhere from one to four "prom leaves" per term. These she often spends in the young man's college town at the dances following football games, at his fraternity's houseparties or the of-

ficial social functions of his university. Since in addition to this there are, as we have seen, virtually no restrictions upon the number of times the young man may visit her, his larger freedom makes it possible for him to be at her college when she is not at his. In certain groups such visiting goes on so incessantly that one of our distinguished pulpit orators who is an alumnus of one of the great American universities for men which have abolished compulsory chapel, was heard to say that when he wished to address the male undergraduates of his own institution he found more of them to preach to on the Sundays when he conducted the service in a neighboring woman's college than when he spoke in the almost deserted chapel of his and their alma mater.

There have been other unmistakable indices of this increasing freedom of social intercourse between undergraduates in once supposedly segregated men's or women's colleges. Though it is more serious in some than in others, it is more or less common to them all. I was forced against my will to admit this after an odd experience some time ago.

I had gone to bed after a heavy day when at about midnight I was called to answer a long distance telephone call. The agitated feminine voice was that of a young lady in a woman's college. She excused her untimely summons by informing me that she was Tom Worthington's fiancée. Did I know him? It so happened that I did. He was expecting her down for the Prom three days later but she had just figured it all out and was terribly upset to discover that her Prom leaves had all been used up and she

was now convinced that her dean would not allow her to come. Our telegraph office had refused to deliver telegrams on the campus at that hour. I would, of course, understand how important it was that Tom should know at once. She asked me if I would send the message to his room and, "will you be good enough," she added without a flutter, "to give him my love." I must admit that I had been called out of bed on other occasions for less important errands but this was the first time that I had ever been awakened to convey a young lady's love to her undergraduate fiancé. I was taken off balance and afraid that I might fumble, so to steady myself I pleaded for time to get a pad and pencil and asked her please to repeat the message. She did so in the most matter of fact fashion, ending with the same affectionate tail piece. I took it down word for word, put it in quotation marks, signed her name and sent it to Tom by the night watchman. This was a few years ago and at that time evidently young men were still a little bit more sensitive about publicly receiving messages of love than were young women about sending them. It has become more customary on both sides and though I do not know whether this pair were ever married, I do know that my former friend, Tom, was a bit distant with me for the rest of his senior year.

Not only do they occasionally become engaged, they enter into marriage with a delightful confidence in the future. In this respect one of the fundamental rules of the older men's colleges began some years ago to weaken and in some places disappeared altogether. Before the war nearly all of them had in their regulations a provision

which forbade a student under any circumstances to marry before graduation. The penalty of dismissal was drastically enforced and I still recall the excitement caused a dozen years ago when a famous college football star was expelled on the eve of a big game after it had been discovered that he had contracted a secret marriage during the summer. Though the rule was attacked by libertarians and feminists I always felt there were sound, practical reasons for it. The older men's colleges were usually isolated residential communities in small towns and the student was expected to live in a dormitory and take part with his classmates in the life of the college. If he were allowed to marry, this phase of his education would have to be waived and he would cease to participate as directly in the campus life. My own objection was not so much against having married men in the undergraduate group as it was against having young and attractive women on its fringes. They would constitute what might be called a serious marginal problem. Though it is too easy to escape from a campus over week-ends, a man's college still remains a community composed in workaday times almost exclusively of males. The undergraduate is nearly always a stranger in the town without close feminine acquaintances and if he brings down a wife, there is no circle of her own sex to which she can naturally attach herself. I always held that one of two things would happen. If the girl were of the popular sort the rooms of the new ménage would be forever thronged by all her husband's classmates. Or, if she were retiring and demure, which I admit now happens somewhat

rarely, she would for long stretches have to be left entirely to her own devices, and what at creation's dawn the Lord told Adam, He might still tell the modern Eve. It is not good for woman to be left too much alone. In either case the husband would have to give many hours called for by his studies to distracting social or marital obligations. Undergraduates who wished to marry never agreed with my discouraging prognosis. With the optimism of youth they saw the future through rose-colored glasses. They always insisted that their case was different and I became familiar with the picture of the youthful bride mutely darning her undergraduate husband's golf stockings while he sat across the table absorbed in the intricacies of higher mathematics. It was attractive certainly but to me unconvincing and for years I simply had to steel my heart against it. All you could do was to say no and no and no and be a villain. You might cynically tell yourself that matrimony for the young nowadays was not quite like that. But the undergraduate in this respect is still like other young and some older men. Even to-day you cannot argue with him when he is in love.

The war which swept so many old rules and customs out of the colleges was for a time at least to shake this one also. As soon as our country had entered the conflict many young men who were only juniors or sophomores, and occasionally even freshmen, dropped their books and left for training camps and the front. In some cases they were gone three or four years before being finally demobilized. The colleges naturally felt that they had a special obligation to such patriotic sons and made concessions to allow

them to return and finish their studies. Some of them for financial reasons could not return immediately and came back after intervals of five or six years. Marriage after all is not a sin and those who had married while away could not be disqualified. Occasionally such a man was engaged to marry shortly. The old rule had to be softened. It still forbade all runaway marriages and elopements but the dean's office in many cases became a limited license bureau for war veterans and a few stragglers. Waiving the case of the actual war brides, my own experience was not a happy one, and tended to bear out the conclusions I had previously reached.

I remember, for instance, the case of Jim Rand, a highly plausible suitor but not a brilliant student. When he presented himself as a candidate for marriage, in lieu of congratulations I had to offer my usual objections. He countered them all and painted again that prophetic picture of post-marital bliss which I have sketched above. When I suggested that his low scholastic standing constituted an additional negative factor he had an explanation for that also. He had to spend many hours in writing to his fiancée; all this time would be saved and devoted to his studies. Georgette was such a competent person; her family was enthusiastic over the proposed wedding and I would be astonished at the improvement in his grades. We were all being so rapidly modernized in those days that I decided that like Jim I ought to be willing to try anything once and weakly consented to this experiment. Jim's marks dropped like the barometer before a storm. When he finally found it necessary to leave us before grad-

uation we chatted gloomily at parting. It was, of course, he told me ruefully, hard to be married in a college town; it took you out of the life; it queered you. He had quite evidently forgotten the picture he had painted for me a year before. I, of course, would understand that it was a scramble to find the time for study. There is very little that just two people can do after dinner and he had often sat down and played chess all evening with Georgette. A man owed *something* to his wife, didn't he? I admitted that he did.

We made a number of such experiments in that period but in general the results were unsatisfactory and little by little we went back pretty much to the old rule, though we did become slightly more liberal and in two or three cases, where it was recommended by our psychologist as necessary to a boy's mental health, we allowed marriage, usually on the condition that the wife remain at home with her parents. Before dropping this subject I must admit, however, that one of my plunges in undergraduate marriages proved unexpectedly successful and a source of personal satisfaction.

Bill Cranston had long been a patient of my office and had already lost a year. I did not believe that academically he would ever live to graduate. When he asked me for my dispensation and blessing I am afraid I was curt, but Bill had the courage of his convictions. He had confidence in his fiancée and after I had forbidden the bans he surprised me by bringing her down to see me. She had the feminine good sense to dismiss Bill and asked to speak to me alone. She very quickly proved to me that she under-

stood Bill better than I did. There was nothing in the world that she wanted more than to see him graduate and she realized better than he how slight his chances were. She had gone to a cooking school and had learned housekeeping to prepare herself for her work. It would be quite enough occupation for her to perfect herself in these household arts while she kept him on his job. It was winningly suggested that some evening I would be invited to supper and should see. It was plain that this young lady was not used to taking no for an answer and there was no reason why she should. She was determined to put Bill through college and though she stated her case persuasively her charming and competent self was really her most eloquent plea. Besides, the supper she served was delicious. Though old habit still made me grudging I capitulated and am pleased to be able to report this one thoroughly successful venture in coeducation at a man's college. It is, therefore, needless to say that this young woman was as good as her word and that Bill took his degree with credit. If anything could have changed my views this would have done so, but I am still compelled to list it as an exception. Marriage for undergraduates in men's colleges remains as I see it a desperate remedy to be resorted to only in otherwise hopeless cases.

It was quite evident that whatever might have happened to romance young men and young women still became engaged. It seemed that college men still married, in fact did so somewhat more frequently than in times past. In all this, however, there was nothing wicked or immoral. Since greater freedom exists virtually everywhere and

since the conduct of the young is not so much conditioned by college rules and regulations as it is by their own social code, we could not expect that a man's college like ours would escape the general contagion. If the situation in coeducational universities was in fact as alarming as it had been painted to my hostess, and if the new code in matters of sex was generally as lax as my shocked friends feared, we, too, must be tainted. We were all in the same boat. I, therefore, checked up our records and my own experience in this somewhat tabooed field, to sift out what seemed to bear upon this problem.

First of all I can remember in recent years two cases brought up from outside the college in which undergraduates were threatened with suits for breach of promise of marriage by adventuresses and five or six instances where boys married unwisely and in haste, thus terminating their college course. There were also instances of a quite different sort and once a lad who was as fine a young man and as perfect a gentleman as I have known, in a situation that resembled the complications of a Russian novel, asked me for permission to enter into a platonic marriage with his sister's best friend out of pure sympathy. He admitted he was not in the least in love. The girl was an intellectual young woman who earnestly wished to go to college as my young friend's sister was doing. It was necessary that she do so as a preparation for the life work she had planned. He felt quite correctly that her life was being warped and thwarted by a foolish nineteenth century parent who still objected to a young woman's going to college, and this undergraduate was quite willing to

sacrifice himself upon the altar of friendship. He would marry her to release her from this unhappy family bondage so that as his wife she might be free to pursue her studies. His chivalrous intentions did him credit but fortunately another way was found.

On another occasion I was called upon to drop a young man who fell head over heels in love with a popular actress. There was a bitter disappointment in store for him. He was not only ruining himself financially by having flowers sent up to the stage every evening after a moving curtain but he spent so much of his time out of town and at the theatre that his record for attendance became hopelessly unsatisfactory. He felt that his college exercises were interfering with a matter of supreme importance to his happiness. I felt so too, and after a conference he left us without bitterness. It seemed an undeserved irony that after losing his chance at college, his expensive suit should have been so lightly regarded. The actress was not nearly so young as she looked across the footlights to my hallucinated youth and she had other and older admirers whom she preferred, one of whom she married shortly thereafter as her third living husband or ex-husband.

The whispering campaign against the attitude of undergraduates in matters of sex has been carried on so persistently for the past few years that one more protest can do little good. A frank statement of the facts, distasteful as it is to make one, must be less damaging. It is only fair to preface it by saying that I am far from being a whole-hearted champion of many of the social changes

which have taken place and are here involved. It may be assumed that much has remained hidden to us. We, of course, had no official means of knowing what happened when undergraduates were out of town. It must not be imagined, however, that even here we were left entirely in the dark. It can be said confidently that the newspapers, the world and his wife had no scruples about reporting real or even supposed misconduct. Regrettable professional opportunities, however, probably put me in the way of seeing more of what actually goes on than most of the busy critics of the colleges. In virtually all of them, the conditions complained of are matters for disciplinary action and the experience of most of them is probably not unlike ours.

Let me then complete what might be called a specimen police blotter of six years. Upon our campus and in its immediate vicinity, there were two cases in which action was called for because of laxity in matters of sex. Including what was reported from outside and therefore not subject to as thorough investigation, there was also one junior who had to be dismissed. He was charged by an adventuress with the paternity of her child. Though the charge was probably false his conduct was such as to make his presence undesirable and he had long been rated by his own classmates as one of the "bad eggs" in our rather large college basket. In the hundreds of escapades reported for investigation I can find but five in which upon "parties" young men were found associating with women who plainly did not belong to their class. This means a little less than one such clear case reported per year among well

over two thousand young men. The significant thing was that they were not the type whom their classmates honored. The undergraduates condemned to live under my heavy and blundering hand would be the first to resent any imputation that they are white as wool. I am even willing to concede to them that they may have been worse than these figures show, but in the way of actually accredited delinquency along these lines this is the best I can do for them. Yet they were merely a representative cross section of American college youth. I found them quite normal, on the whole rather lively and on occasion rampageous. Even the best of them would insist that they were touched by frailties like as we, their elders, are. When all this is set into perspective and when we remember that it covered about thirteen thousand years of academic life of about four thousand different men, there is nothing here worse than our past records show and nothing that should make a reasonable citizen despair of the future or the fatherland. Although now as then there were in every college some weak sisters and weak brothers, as I looked far back into my own years as an undergraduate, startling as it might seem, in one respect at least there had been improvement.

The excessive socialization of college life of which I have spoken, that incessant visiting between the undergraduates of men's and of women's colleges have caused their respective deans many sleepless nights. It has given the colleges a social cast and atmosphere which has not been an unmixed good for them as households of learning. It has, however, had one salutary effect. For the most

part and to a much larger degree than was true fifteen years ago, the male undergraduate who craves feminine companionship finds it now among young women who are his equals in intellectual training and social maturity. It is at least a case where Greek meets Greek. If it is safe to assume, and I believe it is, that the young woman in college is capable of taking care of herself then no one is imposed upon and no one unwittingly suffers harm.

This socializing process has, of course, gone on within the coeducational universities also. Men who were graduated from many such institutions twenty and thirty years ago will tell you that they had few feminine acquaintances apart from the young women who had come from their own community or high school. The young men and the young women, for the most part, went their separate ways. In one of the most eastern of the large coeducational colleges they lived almost like hostile clans. Those distracting social occasions and dances which bring both sexes together were then rare but have in many of these institutions now become almost nightly affairs. There is, however, one consequence of this otherwise innocent social promiscuity with which society may later have to reckon. As a consequence of this changed attitude, there may result and I fear is already resulting among the younger sets a different social consciousness. They regard marriage, the home and the family as less central and pivotal facts than we did. This probably makes for easy divorce and an unfortunate instability, but this social phenomenon the colleges alone have not caused and alone cannot cure, and it is not our problem here.

The distance which once separated the sexes has disappeared. As forms of address between them "Miss" or "Mister" are obsolete. They call each other by their first names. If a young collegian starts to talk to you about his friend, Sue, and you ask him her last name, as like as not he will reply he does not know her well enough to be able to tell you. Informality is the rule and the most popular girl is the one who is able to call the largest number of boys by their first names. In this process what used to be known as "reserve" has gone by the board. Life is free and easy; almost rough and tumble. Many of us do not like this and many really good women who are themselves unmarried and middle-aged, such as the informant of my hostess, see in this departure from cherished social custom something indicating probable delinquency in matters of sex. In this, I believe, they are wrong. If they wish to see in all this the disappearance of romance I believe that in a sense they are right.

Romance thrives best in an atmosphere of formalities, distances, nice distinctions and points of honor. The prosaic and matter of fact attitude kills it. It scores its greatest successes where it triumphs over restraining codes and prohibitions. That is why an elopement is to so many persons more "romantic" than a humdrum church wedding. In this sense the relation between a young man and woman in college is not in the least romantic. It is one of matter of fact friendship and camaraderie. The possibilities for romance are greatest where the differences between the sexes are strongest and most clearly marked, as when for instance man was the protector and knight errant and

woman the protected and respected object of formal worship. Let us admit that much of this formal medieval worship was hollow and a sham. What we have failed to realize, however, is that among the young these former props to romance have been washed out and have disappeared. The differences between a young man and woman have been reduced almost exclusively to those of physiology. In other respects they are quite the same. Sex has been secularized. All those secondary psychological traits which once differentiated men and women, placed them in two different worlds, have ceased to exist and life has been reduced to a common denominator for both. She is no more retiring than he is. She votes as he does and with him is equally interested in public affairs. She is athletic as he is, plays tennis, golf and basketball (perhaps our roughest game) much as he does. There are no longer any mysteries about her toilet. She often powders and rouges in public as he dons or doffs his hat. Their amusements are the same. They go to the same movies, they smoke together, sometimes, alas, drink together. Their education also is one and the same. They attend the same classes, sometimes the same college, they read the same books. Often they will follow the same profession and may both work in the same newspaper office. She may even earn more than he does. Her responses to life, even her language including slang and profanity, are almost identical with his. Both of them are too likely to characterize this world of ours as "lousy" and a "bust." Whether all this is as it should be is not here the question.

So long as sex was under a taboo and hidden under a

veil of mystery there was an atmosphere about courtship and marriage that in large part has ceased to exist. Sex is not now, as some persons suppose, a more important element in the relations of boy and girl, young man and young woman. It is less so. It has become incidental where once in spite of, indeed because of, all Mrs. Grundy did to cloak and hide it, it remained central. That and not greater laxity or incontinence is, so far as I have been able to observe, the one great change that has come over the relations of college youth. The young man of college age and training, therefore, no longer goes about looking for the "affinity" or "soul mate" of some years back. Neither does the young woman. It is all much simpler and more prosaic.

Romanticism is at a heavy discount. The modern language of youth is but one index of this. "Sweetheart" is absolutely out of date. It is too soft and sentimental for this rougher and heartier age. A college girl would squirm if you even called a young man her "suitor." Nobody "pays court" to anybody else. If she likes him he becomes only her "boy friend." This is often something fine and high and there is no reason why their elders need worry particularly about the morality of this relationship during their college days. Sex has been minimized. It is only an incidental factor in human relationships. The great problem for a young man and woman after marriage is not regarded as one of adjustment to each other. He or she must make only a separate individual adjustment to our complicated modern world and if the partner sometimes suffers in this process, so much the worse for him or her.

It is, therefore, not their status or their temptations in college which should cause concern. It is their status and temptations later. If they marry and their intellectual interests or their tastes in amusements shift, there is less to hold them together and they are more likely than in the past to drift away into other friendships and other vague amours. The attitude toward husband or wife is likely to be more casual than it used to be and it will probably be more difficult on such a basis to build a successful marriage. If the young man is looking forward to marriage at all he does so in much, indeed in too much, the same way in which he picks his friend or his business or professional partner. He does not expect love at first sight and the old *coup de foudre* of the novelists does not fall. It is more or less a routine part of the day's or the life's work.

In recent years I have not infrequently had young men come to me and discuss sex problems with a matter-of-fact frankness that would have astounded me fifteen years ago. I have, however, found no reason to share the fears of my colleague's wife. I have no ground for believing that there has been any increase in sexual promiscuity, incontinence or perversion. The changes which I have observed are of quite a different sort. I do not believe they have all been for the best and they may be heavy with disheartening possibilities. Yet the young men in the colleges to-day are as I have seen them, if less romantic, quite as "clean" as any similar group of the Victorian age.

We have already quoted the proverb which assures us that everybody's aunt has seen a ghost. It is not only what

we wish but often what we fear that comes to be real for us. So it had been with the classmate of my friend. To me there was nothing substantial behind her apparition of moral depravity. I personally at least have never seen it and I was able to tell my charming but agitated hostess that so far as I was concerned this notion of a distressing youthful laxity was only one of those unhappy ghosts of our day that have been walking over-time.

Part III

PROBLEMS OF PARENTS

CHAPTER IX

SOME MISTAKES OF MOTHERS*

THAT so many of the helpless infants born into this heartless world could ever have grown up into the confident, boisterous, self-assertive young barbarians I knew is Nature's only adequate tribute to the self-sacrificing devotion of mothers. They ask no other. Let me begin by offering also my own poor preliminary compliment. I admire mothers. And let me add, for the benefit of men who have lived only normal lives and have never become deans, that my profession has allowed me to see countless cases of a mother's abnegation. I have, of course, seen an occasional father who, in his dealings with his son, was considerate and kind. But mothers are unbelievably good. They are good past all imagining. They are good until it hurts—sometimes even until it hurts the boy.

As I lived a long time among these mothers' sons, I learned many cheering things. I also learned from them a few unlovely ones. It is always easier to be on the side of the angels and it would be pleasanter to tell of the hundreds of cases of profitable self-sacrifice. It comforts me to remember that many have done this. But it will, perhaps, not be useless if, acting as devil's advocate, I frankly

*The reasons for the confessional form and tone in this and the following two chapters are explained in the Introduction.

set down the disastrous results of certain maternal impulses which I hope, in a wiser future, mothers tempted to a like indulgence will restrain, for bitter experience should teach us all that the practice of even the finest virtues must be curbed by a reasonable discretion.

Every dean or school principal has of necessity seen the overmasterful father. Most of them, alas, have also seen at least a few overmasterful mothers. The results are equally unhappy. The elderly headmaster of one of our best-known preparatory schools was once compelled to drop from his school an unadaptable boy who was already past the usual age for entering college. Some months later he received a letter from the boy's parents explaining that they were preparing to sue the master for having black-balled their son and for having made it impossible to enter him in any other school. They wished information on the case before proceeding further with the suit, and he made an appointment with them. He, of course, expected trouble when they came. They were evidently people of wealth. The mother, a large woman, somewhat overdressed, did all the talking. The rather wizened father was subdued, suppressed, a perfect example of the hen-pecked husband.

When they entered the headmaster's study, the mother took the seat immediately in front of the desk, while the father, hat in hand, sat down timidly in a far corner of the room. It looked as if the mother had brought him along merely for the sake of appearances. Her cardinal grievance, she explained, was that the boy had been refused by the master of another academy because his rec-

ommendations had been unsatisfactory. Could she see the letter which had been sent to him?

The headmaster had forgotten the exact terms of his note to his colleague, but while drawing it from his files explained that, although it was his confidential opinion, he would in this case be glad to read it to them. He did. The note ran about as follows:

> John Smith has been a student at this school for a year and a half. During that period it was never possible to make him discharge his daily duties; and though he is not vicious in any way, he seemed to have no conception whatever of the necessity for the simplest and most elementary regulations. To me it looks like a case in which the boy has been spoiled by his mother.

The headmaster, having started, was taken aback by his own last sentence, but read it through manfully to the end and waited for the storm to break. To his great surprise he noticed signs of extreme animation on the part of the suppressed little husband. In agitation he dropped his hat, slapped his knee, rose and walked over toward his wife and the master. The note had evidently released a spring in him and given him courage.

"Doctor, you're right," he said, pounding the desk; "you're absolutely right. That's what I've been wishing someone would tell her for the past ten years."

I believe that when any college dean who has seen years of service goes back over his recollections, he, too, will find cases in which he wished that somebody else had told a mother as frankly what was wrong with her son. I am compelled to admit that I sometimes cherished this cowardly wish myself.

It is, of course, natural and proper that a mother should concern herself with some of her son's difficulties. There have been and there always will be, even in college years, phases of his life in which, in Walter Scott's phrase, she must be his ministering angel. There is no one who can do as much for him when he is ill or when the heartless world, in his language, has not "given him a break." Every teacher and dean knows that at times the normal youth falls into unaccountable depths of depression, when she, better than anyone else, can re-establish his confidence in himself and in the world. There are purely personal sorrows which she, and she only, can assuage. No one who has known or seen youth in its affliction will question how precious and how normalizing this motherly solicitude may be.

This instinct is, however, so deeply rooted that occasionally mothers acquire the habit of consoling their sons when they do not really deserve or need consolation, and of excusing them when they are inexcusable, and of sheltering them when, in the interest of their true education and their later self-reliance, it would be far better if they were left to face their problems. When this too-constant and too-insistent solicitude is extended to a youth of college age, it often becomes embarrassing not only to him but to others as well. It has on occasion been embarrassing to me.

As a mute testimony to this maternal weakness, almost any college situated in the mildest section of our temperate zone possesses, in closets and bulging storerooms, a slowly disintegrating stock of virgin overshoes and un-

worn woollen mufflers, large enough to supply the community store of a populous Alaskan mining town. Probably as a protest against the tyranny of mothers, the undergraduate to-day never dons rubbers. Twenty-five years ago he still used to wear the more emphatically masculine hip boots, and until a few years ago it was still customary to slosh about after a blizzard in flopping arctics which rigorous convention forbade him under any circumstances to fasten. But even this seems to be passing and heavy shoes are now the only protection against those wet feet so dreaded of mothers. I am, therefore, reasonably certain that the pair of magnificent galoshes I once brought down for Sam, a hulking guard on the freshman football team, were never worn. It was, perhaps, not my fault that I became involved in his troubles.

If a man from Mars could attend the meetings of some so-called parents' associations, he would conclude that on this earth there are no male parents. I once attended such a meeting in a neighboring town. These parents were mothers exclusively. It was on an afternoon during a disagreeable February thaw. After the conclusion of my talk, I found that one of the ladies in my audience was the mother of Sam. She asked me if I would not execute a commission for her. She pleaded earnestly. The weather, she explained, was very bad and her son always forgot to wear overshoes. She had bought a pair on her way to the meeting. She knew it was an imposition, but would I see that they reached him? I was so taken aback and she was really so kind and so deeply concerned that, in spite of an

inward protest on Sam's behalf, I carried the bulky package back in the train with me.

When I reached the campus I asked the university policeman to deliver it to Sam, and when, the next day, I inquired whether he had done so, he assured me that he had handed it over to the consignee in person. He added, as a matter of possible interest, that when the boy opened the package and learned how it had come, he had uttered only one word. The word is a strong masculine expletive which I am not modern enough to print. This, however, as I saw it, was not really the worst of it. I had seen Sam on the playing field and had liked his manly appearance and carriage. Though I made advances, I never succeeded in establishing normal relations with this really excellent academic citizen, and I had the conviction that my failure was the result of the boy's sense of the humiliation that had been put upon him, partly through my connivance.

Such cases of oversolicitude would make a long catalogue, and I can give but one more, which the boy, happily, understood and therefore never held against me. One evening shortly after Thanksgiving, while at dinner with a distinguished foreign scholar who was to lecture at 8.15, I was called to the long-distance telephone. The summons was so urgent that I feared some serious accident had occurred, but found, on answering, that it was only another overanxious mother. She was deeply agitated as she inquired whether I knew her son, Rutherford. He was a freshman, a good boy and her only child. She had only been able to allow him to come down to

college on the understanding that he would telephone her every evening at seven. He had done so until this day, and it was now 7.20. She had waited as long as she could endure it, and was now certain that something terrible must have happened. I sent a policeman to hunt up the boy, ask him to telephone his mother and to stop in to see me after the lecture.

The policeman had little trouble in locating the culprit, and when young Rutherford stopped in later that evening, he was most apologetic, not only for the trouble he had occasioned the college but for the distress which he realized he had caused his mother. He explained it, however, with that refreshing frankness so disarming in college boys. At early dinner in Commons, three friends had asked him to play bridge until 7.30. He had expected to call up while he was dummy. He was playing most of the hands about seven o'clock and forgot the time. With the perversity of cards, it was really his run of good luck that had caused his oversight and his mother's distress. Though he was plainly discomfited by his own negligence, on finishing his explanation a faint smile fluttered over his honest face. It seemed to say, "Of course, we men know how mothers are." I was sure that because of his good sense, good feeling and good humor, his mother's too-impatient affection would in this case work no serious harm.

An episode of a different sort forced me to a conclusion which I believe is of major importance. It was a warm afternoon in September and the large windows of my office in the administration building were opened wide and looked out upon one of the principal cross-

walks of the campus, thronged, as they are on opening days, with groups of hand-shaking undergraduates. My caller, Mrs. Doak, was an aggressive woman and carried everything before her. She had come to see me on this opening day—of all days—about her son George. Now I knew George only too well, and up to that time I had never felt that he deserved very much sympathy. He had already, to my knowledge, begun to indulge in some of the masculine forms of dissipation. He was also an incurably poor student, but this difficulty was one which no mother or even father could cure. It was congenital. He had simply not been born with that type of mind which makes success in college possible. He had evidently been doctored into college by dint of high-powered cramming, but by the end of his freshman year he had fallen so low that, although under our very liberal rules for first-year men he could not be finally dropped, it was so plain that he would fall hopelessly behind in the course of another year, that I had written the father suggesting that, in the boy's interest, he be withdrawn.

As so often happens I had heard nothing from the father. Mrs. Doak explained that her husband had been inclined to agree with the college and was in favor of giving her son a job. She, however, was bound and determined that he should graduate. Furthermore, she expected him to make a good fraternity, and to do this she felt that he should go out for the college daily. When I demurred she rode me down and insisted that she knew how to arrange it. She had given up a trip to Europe and was going to live in town. She was going to

call on all of George's instructors and get a weekly report on his progress, and in case he was behind in any subject, not allow him to go out in the evening. She asked me whether I would speak to George about the necessity of his doing his work on time; and, in the hope of concluding a long interview on my busiest day, I promised to do so. She rose to go.

Unfortunately, at that moment she noticed her son on the crosswalk with a group of friends, approaching the building. Before I could prevent it she stepped to the window and, to the amazement of the undergraduates below, called out to him in a voice that would not be denied, and summoned him to my office. When, a few moments later, he entered the room, he was, I believe, the unhappiest and most shamefaced undergraduate I have ever seen. In my presence, the mother drew up an indictment against him. She accused him of all those failings of his with which she was familiar or which she suspected. She explained for my benefit all the sacrifices she and her husband had made for him. They had not sent him to high school but to a fine preparatory school at which tuition was $1,500 a year. They had paid a most expensive tutor to get him into college. She repeated that she had given up her trip to Europe because of him and that she was going to remain right there at the university for the rest of the year and see that he did his work. The worst of it was that on the strength of my promise to speak to the boy, she tried to make it appear to him that I agreed with her on all the counts of her indictment and that I approved of her method of procedure.

I had to call the boy in later—privately of course—and explain my own attitude. He earnestly wished to leave college, but his mother would not allow him to do so. Mercifully for all concerned, however, she did not have to remain in town for the full year. Though George had no great scholastic aptitude, he detested the situation and possessed considerable native shrewdness. On his very first set of examinations he succeeded in turning in so deliberate and so complete a series of failures that, to his very great satisfaction, we were easily able to drop him under the rules.

At my college, as at nearly all men's colleges, there is a rule which aims to prevent women from entering men's dormitories. A boy who invites one in against the rule is usually dismissed. The necessity for this regulation will be understood by all reasonable mothers who will pause to reflect. Waiving any question of immorality, in men's dormitories the showers are usually in the basement, and boys go about the entries in the same careless freedom of dress and undress that they enjoy in a man's athletic club. The university police had reported that a woman had been entering a freshman's room during the morning hours. The offense was repeated and we learned that the visitor was Mrs. Chester, the young and attractive but not very sensible mother of the occupant. She had been unable to resist the temptation to see whether her son had put up the curtains she had sent him; and, a little later in the fall, had wished to assure herself that he was using his woollen blankets. This had happened when the boy was out of the dormitory. But not long after, one Sun-

day evening, the policeman had noticed them approaching the building. He was sure the boy knew the rule, but did not quite trust the mother.

He explained to them that ladies could not enter dormitories without permits from the dean's office and that these were granted only rarely and for special occasions. He indicated to them a common room where they might visit. A little later to his astonishment, he found them leaving the son's room. The boy admitted to me that he had told his mother it would "make no difference," and my experience with him had revealed him as one of the lukewarm, self-pitying type who always criticise a rule and never themselves. The mother was—in part at least —to blame not only for this offense but also for the boy's general attitude. I felt, however, that a few weeks' suspension might give this young man a much-needed stiffening up. It is clearly impossible for the college to inquire into the degree of relationship between young men and their feminine visitors, especially in these days when, to the unpractised eye, there are no longer any outward differentiæ between mothers and their daughters. I realized that he and his mother would probably raise a great hue and cry about the injustice of suspending a son because he had been visited by his mother. In this I was correct, and it was one of my decisions which was most frequently criticised. I still feel that I was right, though possibly I overdid it just a little when, in writing the mother about her son's suspension, I explained that were she subject to academic jurisdiction, it would have been necessary to suspend her as well.

These two episodes had followed each other in close succession and I find that after the second I scribbled in my diary, "American undergraduates are overmothered." A single swallow does not make a summer, and the unexpected appearance of even two unwise mothers need not upset a hardened university official who for many years had been forced into familiarity with the maladjustments of American social and family life. If, in the autumn when these two otherwise insignificant episodes occurred, I became conscious of what my friends at first amusingly called the "feminine peril," it was for a quite different reason. The college of whose staff I had been a member for more than a quarter of a century had certainly grown in numbers. Yet fathers seemed to be becoming rarer visitors in our offices. This was not because young men had improved, but because the rôle of the fathers, even when sons were in serious trouble, was more and more being assumed by mothers. Just as they had disappeared from parents' associations, fathers were by way of disappearing from the offices of their sons' colleges. If you wrote them, the mother replied and on the rare occasions when it was necessary to suggest that they come down, it was the mother who came. This was a trend bound to have unfortunate effects, and it was the recognition of this fact that led me to conclude that undergraduates were overmothered. I realize that what might be called the barriers between the sexes have been breaking down. Many occupations and professions previously pre-empted by the male have been opened to women, with no loss to society, and many foolish prejudices

which restricted the range of their legitimate activity have been removed. The rôles of the male and the female parent are, however, not interchangeable, and though there are functions which the mother only can perform, there are others which should be quite as exclusively the father's province. In certain phases of a boy's life in college it is only a man who can guide him, since his problems are peculiarly those which concern the young male's adjustment to masculine society.

Almost everyone will admit that after a boy has reached the age of twelve or fourteen he does better under male instructors. This is not because a man knows algebra, Latin, French or English better than a woman of the same intellectual aptitudes and training in these subjects. It is because there is far more to a boy's education than these formal subjects of study. Education is also quite as much a matter of proper emotional attitude and social adaptation. After a boy becomes conscious of sex differences, as he inevitably does in those years, there is a distinct loss where he spends too much of his time and receives too much of his training even from the most admirable and competent women. It is a significant fact that women instructors do not clamor to teach in men's colleges. Their own instinct or good sense tells them that their sex or that of their pupils will militate against their success. Boys' preparatory schools almost never employ women teachers, though they do have highly successful house mothers, and women nurses in their infirmaries. This may rest upon an unconscious recognition of profound psychological differences and it may be in part

lingering prejudice. However much of this prejudice may be removed, it is still true that a man's life and a woman's cannot be entirely the same. Neither, therefore, can their education. Sometime and somewhere the boy must learn to live in a man's world. A boy occasionally—indeed often—fails at the university simply because he lacks the necessary intellectual capacity. That, in the interest of his further training as a useful social being, should end his college course. It is not a matter that calls for any intervention whatever by father or mother in college offices. If, however, he is in difficulty in a dean's office because of his behavior, it is because he has been unable as yet to adapt and adjust himself to that man's world in which he will be called upon to live. The father, if he has the boy's confidence, can do far more for him than the mother in such a crisis.

In my experience with mothers—even excellent mothers —at such unhappy junctures, I have found that the maternal protective instinct almost inevitably asserts itself. They wish to spare the boy all possible unhappiness and pain rather than really further the difficult and often essentially painful process of social adjustment. A year's removal from college, and hard work on his own in association with other men who are also earning their living, is in some cases an effective normalizing agent. A father will often see this, but I can remember only one mother who willingly accepted this recommendation.

Any dean who has been long in service can cite instances where some young man whose aberration was serious had to be treated with decisive severity. The youth will

return a few years later to thank him with fine sportsmanship for that timely jolt over which his broken-hearted mother wept. One such mother once followed me back into my office and, laying her head upon my desk, assured me between sobs that she would not leave until I had relented and restored her son to good standing. Since a wise and, I believe, humane, if masculine, committee had decided the boy must be out at work for a year, and could only return on the recommendation of his employers, the situation would have been ludicrous had his mother's grief not been so utterly sincere.

We have seen that a man's college is of necessity a man's world, and whatever ardent feminists may say, as I have seen it, it is not the woman, it is the man who pays. The father usually foots the bills. This is as it should be, and regrettable only when his intervention and interest, as so often, go no further. If, however, in the less formal but none the less important sides of a young man's education, feminine intrusion is too pronounced, it is the boy who pays. He pays in maladjustments, unpopularity and unhappiness.

The activities of youth, even on a college campus, are conditioned and in large part directed by subconscious fears, prejudices and presuppositions which are as old as the race. The greatest fear of the primitive tribesman was that he might not pass the tests of manhood and that he would be compelled to spend his life in the woman's house, in woman's garb. The dominant rooted fear of the young collegian is that he will be regarded as a sissy. To-day, as in primitive times, that is the deepest

disgrace of the normal young male, and consequently his greatest, if unacknowledged, fear. This explains much of his boisterousness, his rough-housing and occasionally his unhealthy desire to practise all masculine vices. There are many fields in which his male prejudice against female domination is strong and resentful. I knew one devoted sophomore son who failed to make a club for no other reason, so far as I could discover, than because it had become common gossip among his classmates that his mother picked out his neckties. It was taken as an indication that he was tied to the proverbial apron strings. All this is stupid and foolish. It is not logical, it is psychological; but just for that reason it is all the more serious. Anyone who is curious can see these instinctive fears and resentments revealed in the unconscious habits of undergraduate speech. When a boy's friend has given him good advice, he commends him with "Spoken like a man"; and I have heard the best and most devoted sons in the world reject and completely rule out of court a classmate's suggestion with the one withering phrase, "He talks like an old woman."

A mother who would really understand her son must come to recognize that this attitude of unreceptivity to female suggestion extends into domains like religion, where even the educated public is rarely conscious of its existence. We cannot here enter into all the phases of this clouded realm of youthful fears and prejudices. Let it suffice to say that there are, however, aspects of a boy's life concerning which he will accept reproof and guidance from a grown male who is almost a stranger where

he would not brook interference from feminine relatives.

Any fairly intelligent man who has dealt with the young of his own sex realizes that there is no more tragic life than that of the lad known to his classmates as a "mamma's boy." He is hopelessly out of it in any community of masculine or even feminine youth, for even girls share this secular prejudice against the sissy. It is for this reason that the increasingly frequent assumption by fathers that the direction of a son's life in college can be turned over to his mother is a fallacy of American parents which all too frequently results in unhappiness and disaster.

CHAPTER X

SOME MISTAKES OF FATHERS

WHEN, for my sins, too many years ago, I became a university dean, an older friend, who had grown gray in the profession, came to condole with me. Deans, he told me, were invented to bear the sins of the colleges. That was why, nowadays, they needed so many of them. "You will be called upon to give a lot of advice. Before you begin let me give you some. Don't try to be a new broom. The best way to reform a college is to reform it gradually and as little as possible. That is true of boys as well as of colleges. Remove all dead wood and artificialities; give the boys and the college a chance to improve naturally, and you will be surprised to see how well they respond. You have been a teacher for twenty years and you ought to know something about boys; they will get into all sorts of devilment. That is more or less natural and you take it in your stride. Your real troubles and sometimes the worst troubles of the undergraduates themselves will come from their parents. The worst of it is that almost every boy has two of them. You will not understand parents at first. Don't try. You will not understand them later either. It isn't natural. It took me twenty years to learn one simple fact: A parent who, when his son is in trouble, acts like a normal person is an abnormal parent."

In my beginner's enthusiasm I felt that there was a touch of cynicism in my friend's salvo, and I used to wonder whether it was really true that some of the most serious troubles of sons sprang from the mistakes of their parents. I have stopped wondering. On this point, as on most others, against my will I have been convinced that my old friend was right.

This old mentor of mine, in spite of his tart manner, was recognized in his community as a wise and kindly old man. He had probably remembered so many unsatisfactory encounters with parents of both sexes that it had led him to exaggerate slightly. Where he said that it is unfortunate that nearly all boys have two parents, I cannot quite agree with him. He has gone to rest from his labors. Could he be summoned back, I am sure that he would qualify this harsh judgment. It is really one of the admirable arrangements of nature that every child has both a male and a female parent. This is true because as a general thing, though both father and mother are likely to make mistakes, a father's tendencies are so frequently the opposite of the mother's that they neutralize each other, and where they live in good intelligence and discuss the situation with each other and with their son, their decisions are likely to result in thoroughly healthy, safe and sane middle-of-the-road courses. Such cases are, fortunately, the majority, and the sons of such homes usually pass through college without misadventure.

Barring the unhappy accidents of mortality, it is plain that if a son is to profit by nature's wise intention, he

should receive the benefits of both paternal and maternal interest and counsel. When, however, I look through my old notebooks and records, I find that the faults of mothers and fathers were so different in character that in order to convey a fair idea of what they were, they must be treated under separate heads. When I try to classify the instances which came to my attention, I am compelled to list, in the order of their frequency, the paternal vices as, first, indifference; second, suspicion and lack of confidence; and last, what might be called the dictatorial or masterful-man attitude.

This indifference of the American father to the welfare of his adolescent son in college is so serious that it would be really criminal were it not for the fact that it finds some excuse in a mistaken popular belief. College is regarded as a kind of paradise for the young. I do not wish to imply that the American father is unwilling to make sacrifices for his son. He is and he does. Too often, however, he contents himself with the financial sacrifice. He is willing to pay the price of admission for his son and, where he is able, to provide him with what might be called a reserved seat.

As a testimony to his willingness to go almost any lengths along this line, I might say, in passing, that I have, in my time, received from fathers a goodly number of what might be called expensive invitations. I have been invited to spend summers at exclusive resorts; to go on yachting trips, even to go to Europe; and, once, around the world.

Though the father is often willing to make even such

ludicrous financial sacrifices, the burden of what might be called the boy's moral support is usually shifted to the mother. Since, as we have seen, mothers are occasionally given to being overprotective, I would be the last to advocate further mollycoddling of sons by fathers or gratuitous intrusion by them into their sons' affairs. I thoroughly believe in putting a boy upon his own in college. This does not mean, however, that he should be cut off from conversation or counsel with his father.

In spite of all that has been said about the sharpened antagonisms between the young and their elders, it is certainly true that in the college, in general, there is a much better understanding and much freer intercourse between age, as represented by the professor, and youth, as represented by the student. My experience led me to doubt whether this is as generally true between fathers and sons. Possibly the Freudian psychoanalysts have an explanation for this.

Years ago, in my very first weeks in office, I experienced a disappointing revelation. In discussing with a sophomore his rather serious scholastic difficulties, it was evident that these were bound up with other problems of a personal nature. He was being seriously rushed and was debating which fraternity he would join or whether it would not be wiser—at least, for the time being—not to join any. They were all problems of a boy's adjusting himself to a man's world. Some of them depended upon the degree of financial assistance which he could reasonably expect from home. By way of closing the interview, I suggested that he write his father. He explained, with

naïve disappointment, that he had. He always addressed his letters to his father and his mother, but it was his mother who always answered, and she did not understand anything about such matters. In two years this boy had received no letter from his father, and I have known cases where a boy, in four years, had received no communication whatsoever from his male parent. I cannot see that the number of such instances decreased in my later years.

In one case where a boy's mother had died some years before, I was called upon to telephone such a father. He was in comfortable circumstances, lived about 200 miles away, and the son was in a highly critical situation. The college physicians had diagnosed his case as one of acute appendicitis which the boy had already allowed to progress too far before his pain drove him to the infirmary. Assuming, of course, that the father would come on, I had called up to obtain his permission for the emergency operation probably necessary before his arrival. I was instructed to obtain the services of the best available surgeon. The father did not deign to make the trip or later, when a really modest bill was sent him, to make any acknowledgment or payment. If it was this father's intention really to put his son upon his own, he was clearly overdoing it. Such cases of callous indifference can, of course, be regarded as exceptions, but I find that, in the course of the years, I developed an index which I think measures its prevalence with a fair degree of accuracy. When the situation of an undergraduate became so serious that the college no longer felt justified in bearing the responsibility alone, it was necessary for my office to

communicate with the father. These letters were addressed to him personally and requested an acknowledgment. Of any hundred letters that I wrote about sons in trouble, about twenty would remain unanswered. But of the remaining 80 per cent, although all of them called for a reply from the father, about 30 per cent were answered by the mother, who would explain apologetically that her husband was for the moment too busy to give the matter his attention; and in many cases he would never enter into the discussion at any later stage.

There is another failing of fathers which, though it cannot properly be called indifference, results from selfishness and has very much the same effect. I remember one earnest, engaging little sophomore who was not brilliant, whose life at college was made unnecessarily difficult and who started life there as a failure, where he should have been allowed to succeed. His trouble was his family—by a pathetic irony, a family that was really well disposed but unable to realize that the son had problems and difficulties of his own. Their interest showed itself in foolish and selfish ways, and finally killed that inner heart of the boy's personality—his confidence in himself.

One day in the spring he was summoned home by telegraph shortly before what were, for him, important examinations. He found, on his arrival there, that his father had left for a two weeks' fishing trip, and just before leaving had decided that it would be a good thing to have the son come home during his absence to provide a little company and diversion for his mother. This happened in a family where there were many servants and

at a time when there was no special need. When the boy returned, it was plain that he was so accustomed to this attitude, that it was only my astonishment that struck him as strange. His summons home did not surprise, it only discouraged him, and he was slowly coming to realize that his own work was less important than his father's play.

The second class of sinners—the suspicious fathers—were, on the whole, more amusing. This was partly because their unhealthy curiosity about their sons and about the college brought them more frequently into my bodily presence, and also because in nearly all cases poetic justice was meted out upon them for their sins. Unlike the indifferent fathers, such parents, as was proper, suffered more from their own failings than did their sons.

An atmosphere of suspicion is, of course, always unhealthy, and I remember one case in which it corrupted an otherwise incorruptible Irish policeman who was one of my most faithful assistants. The boy was a high-spirited but rather good-natured rapscallion who occasionally violated the university rules. One of his escapades brought him up for disciplinary action. I was compelled to write the father, but he simply would not believe that I had told him all that I knew about his son. He suspected deeper depths of wickedness, and in one interview I had with him, he virtually taxed me with suppressing the truth. Nothing that I could say would ever convince him that his son was on the whole a fairly good boy, and he evidently decided to investigate for himself.

Unknown to me, he went to see the college policeman

and offered him a bribe to keep particular watch upon his son and send him reports. This highly competent son of Erin had grown up about the college and had been in its employ for nearly forty years. He was a keen judge of the weaknesses of the young, and I sometimes felt that he had developed an uncanny sense which told him what rampageous undergraduates were going to do even before they did it. He deeply resented this parent's call, but did not tell him so. He told me. To him, the college constituted a big family, and though it was legitimate to discuss the weaknesses of any of its members within the family proper, to do so with outsiders was a different matter. In their presence even a young rascal immediately became one of his boys, and he assumed the air of injured innocence. To him, this suspicious parent was a rank interloper. With his tongue in his cheek, however, he agreed to make the periodic reports. He felt that this particular boy was being abused by his father, and to re-establish the balance, he became almost unduly sympathetic. His reports to the father were pitched in so enthusiastic a key that they would have led anyone to conclude that this boy was really a model academic citizen and the supposedly secret communications were far more favorable than my official statements could possibly have been.

I also recall one almost loathsome case in which the father hired a detective to live in the university town and spy upon his son. I do not know what the detective learned about the boy, but I do know that the boy and his friends discovered a great deal about the detective

and in a short time unmasked him. If anything could have helped so perverted a father, it would have been to have heard what his son's friends thought of him. In view of the variegated forms of wickedness of which the father suspected his son, I was convinced that the father must have been guilty of an unconscionable amount of devilment himself, both as a young man and later. Such cases are, however, hopelessly abnormal, and I knew of only this one over a span of twenty years.

Though such cases of what might be called acute distrust were, fortunately, rare, I would occasionally stumble upon examples of lack of confidence which were more or less serious. One of the really distressing things about a dean's life is that he often sees what is wrong between father and son, and yet must sit by, powerless to help. The relation of father to son is, or should be, intimate and personal. Where the trouble is on the boy's side and he is unfair to his parents, you can call him in and, depending on the nature of the case, talk with him frankly, either in friendly fashion or like a Dutch uncle. This may be effective, and I know it often is where the boy's delinquency is merely the result of general heedlessness. But where the difficulty is on the father's side, you can merely hint that something is wrong and suggest a different method of approach. This sometimes sets you at cross purposes with parents.

I remember one instance in which I failed miserably. So much was wrong that I had to see this father frequently. Instead of taking my hints, he came to enjoy the discussions about fathers and sons, and in that blissful self-satis-

faction which lay at the root of his own failures, he came to tell me of the mistakes other parents made. He himself —so he told me—had been unusually successful in his relations with his son. "I get eighty per cent of what I ask of him; and the reason I am successful in my dealings with him is that I am satisfied with this and do not grumble. I know other fathers who keep haggling with their sons for more. I let it go at that." It looked promising and his system in practice was quite simple. Ordinarily, when he discovered another of the many cases in which his son was not living up to promises or respecting parental prohibitions, the father accounted it merely a part of this twenty per cent of nonfulfillment. This percentage constituted for him the predictable leakage or loss resulting from the normal hazards of the parental business, and had to be written off. You couldn't expect a son to live up to promises anyway.

In one case, the father, curiously enough, did become exercised and show unusual concern. The son had been involved in an escapade, in the threshing out of which it became apparent, incidentally, that he and his friends had been drinking; though, in this case, not to excess. The father could not understand how his son had sunk so low. "Of course," he admitted to me, as man of the world, "I occasionally take a drink myself, but I have been particularly careful not to let Bill know about this. When he is home on vacations, I shake up my cocktails in the butler's pantry." He might as well have spared himself the trouble. Sons have a sixth sense in such matters, and it is a hundred to one that the boy knew all about it. It was

merely tit for tat. The father hid his drinking from the son. The son, in return, hid his from his father.

Simple as this father's plan seemed, it suffered from a serious weakness. Haggling is, of course, to be avoided, but he would have been far more successful had he reduced his demands and placed himself upon such a footing with his son that he could have expected a 100 per cent return of confidence and trust.

In this human comedy of ours, such misadventures are, of course, regrettable. If a father starts to play hide and seek with his son, the chances are overwhelmingly that the father will lose the game. In the later years of my active life, scientists were beginning to question whether the old law of conservation of energy really was true. It held that action and reaction in the physical world were equal. If you apply force to a body, it will react in proportion to the strength of that force. I am not a scientist and am willing to allow them to settle it, but the more I saw of family relations the more I became convinced that something approaching this law of the conservation of energy exists in the moral world. Action and reaction there certainly tend to balance each other. Deception on the father's part begets deception on the son's, anger begets anger, and confidence, confidence.

The third type of parental error—what I have called the masterful-man attitude—was almost never amusing and in a few cases nearly approached tragedy in its consequences. Where persisted in by the parent, as, unfortunately, it usually is, I have seen it lead on inevitably to what I can only describe as head-on collisions of person-

ality. Where, as in four or five instances, these situations have reached their climax under my eyes, they have been all the more tragic, since both father and son were men of admirable quality and fibre. In such cases, the root cause of the catastrophe, the tragic fault, does not lie in some petty vice like suspiciousness or selfish indifference. In every case the father was deeply devoted to his son. Because he profoundly misunderstood the problem of youth, he brought on disaster, when, from the excess of his own strength, he was bound and determined to force his son to become what the son was equally bound and determined he would not or could not ever be. Viewed from another angle, I might say that in such cases the father was guilty of invading his son's personality in what he mistakenly believed was the interest of his son. This is something which, in human relationships, can never be done.

Since in all these cases the fathers were successful men, I shall mention here a conclusion which I reached many years ago and which I saw illustrated so many times that I can no longer question its truth. A man who in his business or profession is a failure, as the world sees it, is not necessarily a failure as a father. Quite the contrary; where his experience has not embittered but only chastened him, his chances are among the best. He compensates himself by falling back upon his human relationships, which seem to become more precious to him, and develops a richness of sympathy and an understanding of struggling young manhood which stands him in good stead as a father. Perhaps the most successful father I have ever met was a

poor carpenter who had made every sacrifice for his son and whose every sacrifice had been repaid not only in goods but in that ever-widening sympathy and companionship which always develops where the father-and-son relation is normal and healthy.

I do not mean by this that a father may not be a success in his business or profession and also a success as a parent. I have seen many such cases, but on the basis of my experience I have been forced to the conclusion that in parenthood nothing fails like self-conscious success. As I go back over the years, I can recall a number of fathers who belonged in this masterful-man class, men of outstanding ability, really dominant personalities, who had, by their own efforts, hewn their way to the front. The majority of them were not successful parents. In trying to explain this to myself, I decided that it was probably because such men are often too conscious of their success and have taken on too pronounced a mental set. They have acquired the habit of carrying things before them with an almost defiant aggressiveness. They insist upon having their own way, upon making their will prevail; and though this may be effective in dealing with circumstances and possibly with strangers, it is almost always fatal when applied to sons in college. In a father-son relation, as in the best friendships, there must be some play room, a certain amount of give and take. Sometimes, in bitterness of spirit, the boy yielded to this domination; in other cases, he openly resented and revolted against it. In nearly all cases, even where there was no final break, the relationship between the two was a source of unhap-

piness to both; and this is, of course, the one sure test of failure in family relations.

Such failures really go back to a serious misconception. Psychologists tell us that the mature man does not use more than one-twentieth of his potentialities. An intelligent man of sixty who, after years of training, has become a great industrialist or physician might conceivably have become a great actor, scientist, poet, soldier, musician or engineer. He probably possessed these potentialities as well. In this sense, every specialist—and we are all specialists—is the wreck of many ruined possible careers. After thirty-five years of effort and deliberate use of will, the father who has become a business man or physician has shaped for himself the mental set of his profession. As in the old Lamarckian theory of evolution, these other potentialities that might have made of him poet, soldier or actor, have, through disuse, become atrophied and have withered away. As a lad, Charles Darwin, for instance, was fond of poetry and showed some skill as a musician. But after his years of unremitting efforts as naturalist these talents disappeared so completely that his friends used to amuse themselves at his expense. He reached the point where he could not abide a line of blank verse and where, if his friends whistled even as familiar an air as "God Save the Queen" in a slightly quicker tempo, he could not recognize the tune.

Youth is malleable to a degree that casehardened age cannot understand, and precisely in proportion as a father has achieved success, he is in danger of developing a single-track mind and a single-track attitude which may

make it difficult and even impossible for him to understand a son who is really not fundamentally unlike him. I have seen cases in which a son seemed to possess precisely the same moral qualities which brought his father success in business or industry, yet something deep in the son's nature would be driving him to forms of quite legitimate activity which the father mistakenly felt it his duty to block and thwart.

I am free to give only one such case. It occurred years ago and the young lad who was then the victim has since become a distinguished sculptor whose name would be known to most readers. His father had achieved considerable success as a man of affairs and had insisted, against his son's will, on sending him to college. The boy was clearly miscast for his part and was thoroughly unhappy. His bent for the arts was so marked and he possessed such a deftness of hand and versatility of craftsmanship that his work in sculpture and music was a matter of remark among his professors and classmates. The father, in spite of a deeprooted prejudice against the arts as a profession, under considerable pressure finally agreed to allow his son to develop his talent for sculpture, on the understanding that he would give up wasting his time over the violin. The boy entered a well-known academy of art, but the father remained doubtful and unconvinced. Unannounced, he came to consult the boy's teachers and arrived during the noon recess. The students had finished their lunch, and his son, who had been drawing and modelling since early morning, had sought a moment's relaxation in music.

Totally oblivious to his surroundings, he had started to play his forbidden violin, while his comrades tiptoed back into the empty studio to listen. The father, in a rage, walked up to his son, tore the instrument from his hands, and before the boy realized what was happening, had smashed it to bits against the corner of a block of marble. He left without a word. The boy remained standing for a moment in a daze, then stooped to pick up every sliver of his broken violin and put it away in its case. He worked over it for weeks and finally succeeded in gluing it together again perfectly. He could not accept this humiliation and defeat, and, distinguished sculptor that he has become, he still plays this violin, a memento of broken relations with a father whom he could not understand and who could not understand him.

A somewhat different case of the domineering father ended less seriously for all concerned. This father utterly disapproved of his son's going to college, and when the boy persisted, refused to pay his way or to have any communication with him whatsoever. The boy was not only a good student but a good athlete. During his first two years in college, aware of his father's intense disapproval of athletics and unwilling to distress him further, the son refrained from all extracurricular activities. He was, to my certain knowledge, very unhappy. This sense of parental disapproval weighed heavily upon him. But after his second year he evidently decided to take the bull by the horns. With the resolve born of desperation, he went out for extracurricular activities and was so proficient that he became not only a well-known athlete but a leader in cam-

pus affairs. The father's friends were impressed by the boy's prowess in college and gradually the father came to enjoy basking in this reflected glory. With serene forgetfulness of his previous obstinate objections, he later came down to all games and sometimes even to campus festivities in which his son played a part. On one such occasion, through sheer boredom he came in to see me. He was voluble about the son's triumphs, and as he left had, in undergraduate parlance, the "brass" to tell me, with man-of-the-world nonchalance, "I always said that boy was worth bringing up." I still regret that I could not tell him then and there, as I wish I might have told a few hundred other fathers whom I have never met, "Yes, of course he was, but you had no part in it whatever."

To shilly-shally with a son, to forbid him to do certain things, like spending more than a certain amount, and then weakly to acquiesce when he has done so, is a very common failing, and its effect is bad for the boy and makes for unhealthy relations. Provided, always, the decision has been reasonably arrived at, it is better that the boy should suffer the normal consequences of his mistake or improvidence than that he be relieved of his embarrassment under a shower of weak-kneed recriminations.

It should be remembered, however, that there are certain choices which even a father cannot make for his son. One of these is the choice of a profession or career, and it is, of course, in connection with such major decisions that the most serious clashes and crashes occur. That a boy in college draws for the comic or writes verse is not necessarily a sign that he is condemned to an artistic career.

Many men, like Darwin, are poets and artists only in their youth, and provided the activity itself is not discreditable, it should be accepted. It is probably only a phase through which the boy is passing and through which the father, though he has forgotten it, may once himself have passed.

Though I am old-fashioned and in some doubt as to whether performing upon a saxophone really belongs in the class of creditable artistic indulgences, I knew of one case where a son's wayward but momentarily deep devotion to this instrument and his playing of it in a college orchestra led to a break whose consequences were far from comic. Most of these really unhappy situations declare themselves where a father who has been successful in his business or profession insists that a son approaching or past his majority follow his own footsteps.

Though such cases were rare as compared to the legion of indifferent fathers, several resulted in such lifelong bitterness that, as I look back, I wish it might have been given me to prevent a few of them. It is only the sentimentalist who assumes that all human misery is preventable, but I still cannot help feeling that some of these cases fell into that class, for they go back to a law of our human nature which I once saw illustrated quite clearly under circumstances that had no unhappy issue.

A younger colleague and I were spending a vacation in a well-wooded but rather poor farming settlement in Maine. Our nearest neighbor was a Mr. Squires, a descendant of sturdy Yankee stock who in his hard life was always willing to turn an honest penny.

My friend, not knowing the customs of the country and

forgetting how prevalent are foolish susceptibilities, rushed up one evening:

"Mr. Squires, can I leave an order for wood?"

He imagined that this and paying the bill would be all there was to it. There was more. Mr. Squires was not receptive.

"Young man," he replied with dignity, "I do not take orders, but I do have wood and I occasionally accommodate my friends."

After this impatient young professor had convinced our neighbor that he belonged in the category of his friends, he had no difficulty in obtaining the wood.

Young men on the verge of their majority are proud of their choices. Like Mr. Squires, it is hard for them to take orders. But where their tendencies are not too firmly rooted in the deepest needs of their natures, they, too, are willing to accommodate their friends. I know that in some instances where sons have resented paternal command, the father would have obtained really all that he wished could he have been patient enough to approach the problem under the less rasping form of friendly discussion.

Looking back, it is easy to see how the past might have been made perfect. The hard facts, however, remain; and as I pause here before closing this chapter in the book of my memories, I find that some of these hopeless clashes between really earnest but too determined fathers and finely tempered sons who could not yield are among my bitterest recollections.

CHAPTER XI

TROUBLES AT HOME—DIVORCE

I HAVE spent all my active life as a university teacher and its later years as adviser to, or dean of, men. Though I admit that I have learned much, I am forced to admit that I have not learned everything. I was not trained as a sociologist and recognize fully my own incompetence to cure the evils of society. Daily sessions with young men who were in difficulties did, however, bring me into direct contact with the troubles and struggles of youth. Though I cannot remedy and do not pretend even to suggest effective remedies, I believe it is possible for anyone with this experience, who is willing to affront a certain amount of criticism, to set forth what some of these difficulties are and to indicate the possible sources from which they spring. Since I have found that one of the most frequent causes of trouble is one which is almost never discussed, at the risk of rushing in where the reforming angels of social welfare have most often feared to tread, I have decided to speak my mind about the children of divorce.

If anyone asked me what type of young man is most likely to incur trouble in college, I would have no hesitation in replying. In my latter years I repeatedly put this question to myself and checked up my own experience in various ways. Though my methods of calculation were, of necessity, rough and ready, every process of computation gave me precisely the same result. I have been forced to

accept a conclusion which at first astonished me. It is this: The boys who, on the side of conduct and morals, do least well in college are the sons of divorced parents. Of this central fact I have no doubt. When we come to the higher intricacies of statistics, I am somewhat at a loss. How much more frequently such boys encounter difficulty, I can only estimate in roughest fashion. The number of sons of divorced parents, even in a large college, in any one year is still relatively small, and though in its record this group always compared unfavorably with the rest of the college, the percentages based on their relative records for conduct varied widely from year to year. It appeared that, in the long run, cases of trouble occurred in this group three or four times more frequently than in groups of the same size composed of boys whose home conditions might be classed as normal.

The problem of the child of divorce is, of course, not only or primarily a school or college problem. A study published in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science deals with its more general aspects. Ernest H. Shiller, of the University of Chicago, investigated the status of nearly 8,000 inmates of reformatory and industrial schools in a number of States. He found that more than 50 per cent of these delinquent boys came from broken homes. Since such broken homes are still a decided minority and since more than half of the delinquents came from them, it is evident that, in school or out, the incidence of trouble upon this group is several hundred per cent higher than upon normal youth. That the colleges as well as the country have been generally uncon-

scious of this problem is plain when we remember that virtually none of them can give us accurate information. That is also why so much of what follows must be given not in tabulated scientific form but as a record of personal experience.

In most universities the opening of college is known as registration day. Returning undergraduates must report before a certain hour and check in. This is a fairly simple process. Not so for the entering freshman. He is registering for the first time and must fill out in duplicate or triplicate the answers to a list of questions nearly as long as that which used to confuse voters in the days of the unshortened ballot of presidential years. The college asks him his own full name, his age, his address and where he went to school; his father's full name, his residence and business addresses, his occupation, whether he was a college graduate, and if so, of what college; his mother's maiden name, whether she was a college graduate, and so forth; and any number of other questions which personnel officials, deans and advisers think may conceivably provide useful information in dealing with the newcomer. As if this were not enough, professors of education, psychology and sociology often add further bundles of inquiries on favorite books and magazines, religious affiliations, musical ability, and so on, the answers to which may provide laboratory materials for their researches or those of their graduate students. I confess that I had never become quite hardened to all this, and watching some poor bedazzled freshman chewing his pencil with screwed-up face, trying to remember his mother's maiden name, I used to urge

a shortening of this torture or the instituting of a freshman week to give him time to think it over and write more legibly. There are, doubtless, in nearly all colleges some questions which could well be omitted, but after years of unhappy experience I found that the most important question of all was really never asked. That question is simply this: Are your father and mother still married and living together or have they been divorced?

After the freshman has registered, his troubles are not over; he is sent down to the Department of Hygiene and Physical Education and there given a thorough medical examination. On the basis of this he is rated as Class A, Class B or Class C. Class A means thoroughly sound; Class B indicates minor difficulties or underdevelopment; Class C means that the boy has serious physical weaknesses which must be corrected. Among these Class C boys the doctors and physical directors know that they will find their most grievous problems and difficulties. These Class C boys cannot compete in the more strenuous sports, and need and receive special attention and training, that they may be fitted for normally healthy and active lives.

We have come to recognize that mental hygiene is quite as important as physical. If—as is not improbable—we ever reach the point in the colleges where, on the basis of the student's previous social history and existing disabilities, we establish corresponding ratings for what might be called mental and social health, the sons of divorced parents will certainly be listed in Class C. The chances are that they will, in their personal relations and conduct, encounter difficulties of one sort or another.

I had always realized that divorce was a serious and unpleasant matter, but I felt that where a man and woman married and could not agree, it was best that they should part; and since I had always assumed that it was their own private concern, I had decided that they should be allowed to do so without unnecessary legal let or hindrance. My own experience has forced me to change my mind; certainly where there have been children, for it is quite evidently a problem in which the welfare of society as a whole is concerned.

My attention was first directed to this question after I had been acting as adviser to undergraduates for some years, when Joe, one of the young men whom I knew fairly well, seemed to be encountering more difficulty than I thought he should. He was personally attractive, intellectually above the average, and proficient in athletics. Yet there seemed to be some focus of infection and some cause of continuing irritation which I had not been able to discover. In the course of a conversation with his roommate, I mentioned Joe's difficulties. The roommate was much interested and concerned.

"I don't know how to explain it," he told me, "except that they are a queer family. You know that his father and mother are divorced. He has a sister who is only two years older than he; she has a child and is divorced. Joe's getting queerer too. He knows he's queer, but he just doesn't seem to know what to do about it."

A few weeks later I happened to meet the headmaster of the school which this boy had attended and inquired about his previous history.

"Joe," he told me, "is a very fine fellow and with us was one of the officers of his class. There's only one thing that may cause him trouble. You know his parents are divorced. This upsets a boy in so many cases that I wondered how he would make out when he came on to college. I have found that at our school we have more difficulty with children of divorced parents than with any other group." I had long realized that this headmaster knew his boys unusually well, and his statement gave me pause.

When a boy left college before graduation, it was customary to indicate on his card the reason why he had been dropped or had withdrawn. Usually it would be in some stereotyped phrase like "ill health" or "financial difficulties" or "to go into business." I saw Joe several times after my talk with the headmaster and was called upon to arbitrate in some of his troubles, and when, six months later, he dropped out of college, I wondered whether the entry upon his card should not be "unsatisfactory conditions at home as a result of divorce of parents." I was at that time far from certain that this was a correct diagnosis, but my attention having been attracted to the problem, I soon found that only too often the divorce of parents was the real cause of a son's failure.

One of the incidental reasons why such a boy experiences greater difficulty in adjusting himself to normal social life lies in the simple fact that he is conscious of his own social abnormality. His relations to his home and parents are not like those of other boys. On this side, like Joe, he realizes that he is queer. In general, from a boy

who is queer you can expect anything except perfectly normal conduct. We are told that among certain advanced younger married sets a young man or young woman who has been divorced has no consciousness of any deviation from the normal in his or her social status, and that they will discuss freely, even with comparative strangers, the story of their marital adventures or misadventures. Even if this is true, it is here somewhat beside the point. The marriages made in such younger sets are those which have been contracted since the World War, when marriage had already become a less stable state. Boys in college to-day are, of course, the sons of marriages made twenty or twenty-five years ago, when the permanence of wedlock was still a more or less generally accepted social dogma. Sociologists tell us that of every five marriages made this year, the chances are that one will be broken by divorce. In that old-fashioned time this was not yet true. This may account for some of the difference.

However that may be, and in spite of all that has been said about the sophistication of the undergraduate, on the matter of marital disagreement between his parents he is even to-day acutely self-conscious and abnormally sensitive. This hurts. It usually causes him a continuing emotional discomfort. That is why he is reticent and why this is the one point which he refrains from discussing with his older friends. I cannot say that I have never discussed the matter of past or impending parental divorce with a son. On several occasions I have been compelled to do this. I cannot, however, recall a single instance in which a son willingly brought this problem to my attention.

When it was raised, it was because unhappy and pressing circumstances had forced it to the fore, or because, as so often happens, it was found knotted up with the boy's other problems. A single instance will serve for several, and I cite it not only to show how such cases come to a dean's attention but because it illustrates the insoluble moral dilemma in which such a son occasionally finds himself.

Although a university is not a money-making institution, certain of its activities, such as the collection of tuition and fees, must be conducted upon something approaching a businesslike basis. Where a student is financially able to do so, he must settle his account by a certain date or let the treasurer's office know the reason why. Leniency is, of course, shown and credit extended to poor boys who are working their way. Occasionally a wealthy father sends the funds to pay the college bill to his son, and the young prodigal, instead of turning it over to the treasurer, cashes the check and spends it upon himself. Such cases call for action and are usually referred to the dean, who has to fight it out with the boy and his father; and in a few cases the only way to have the bill paid is to suspend the boy and refuse to reinstate him until the account is settled to the satisfaction of the treasurer.

A few years ago, after the treasurer's last call had been issued, I was taken aback to find in this slow-pay line-up a boy whom I shall, for the purpose of identification, call Ted Jenks. I knew him well as a brilliant, somewhat erratic undergraduate, and he was among the group that might be classed as my more or less regular patients. I

also knew that both of his parents were independently wealthy, and naturally, if somewhat hastily, I assumed that he had diverted to personal uses money which should have gone to the college. After some impatient and, as I see it now, platitudinous remarks on the necessity of being frank, honest and businesslike, I informed my young friend that he was under suspension and must leave until such time as he showed himself competent to manage his financial affairs. Something in the boy's manner and attitude indicated to me that what I had been saying had not registered, and meant nothing to him. Dumbly realizing that I had taken the wrong track, I soon found myself in reverse and began awkwardly to question him as to why he had failed to pay the treasurer or to make the necessary arrangements for a postponement. "I could not explain all this over in the treasurer's office and I don't know that there's any use in going into it here," he began. It was evidently a painful subject.

He did, however, in the course of our subsequent conversation, which was embarrassing to both of us, put before me a situation which made it plain that in this case the son was innocent and any blame must be laid upon the parents. He had, since his return to college in the fall, received no funds whatever from home and owed not only his university bill but considerable amounts in the town. His parents were divorced, and though each was abundantly able to take care of the son's expenses, neither would do so. They were evidently engaged in a bitter struggle for the son's affection; each was trying to turn him against the other and promising him a very liberal

allowance if he would no longer visit or accept anything from the other parent. The boy tried desperately to turn a brave face upon an impossible situation.

"You know," he told me, "I have nothing against either of my parents; I only wish they could settle their difficulties and leave me out of it."

Unfortunately, the relationships between father, mother and child are such that this cannot be done. Although in this instance the boy's financial troubles were settled, it was not surprising that at the end of the year he withdrew from college because, as he put it, he preferred to go upon his own. The Greeks had a proverb, "Bitterest are the wars of brothers." They could not have known the bitterness which sometimes develops between a modern divorced husband and wife when they are doing battle for the allegiance of their son.

Regrettable as such situations are, they may still be classed as cases of simple divorce. As I have seen it, the situation becomes even more serious when either or both parents, after divorce, remarry and other children are born and another home is built on what might be called the ruins of the first. This, I have learned from bitter experience, often leaves the child of the first marriage in an utterly hopeless predicament.

From the standpoint of the son of the first marriage, such arrangements may be called divorce with complications. A typical case must here also serve for many.

This young man I shall call Percy White. Before he had been a freshman many months, it was plain that, in undergraduate language, he was going badly. He was a thor-

oughly unhappy young man, as most of these boys are, and from the standpoint of the college, the most serious aspect of the case was his tendency to dissipation—a tendency far more frequent, incidentally, among such boys than in the average run of the college mill.

As I have previously intimated, it might almost be called a characteristic of the sons of divorce, that it is difficult to obtain their confidence. I never had Percy's, and so far as my relations with him were concerned, I early had to recognize that he was bound to go his own rather lonely and unhappy way. He had few friends even among the classmates with whom he had been associated in preparatory school. His difficulties in conforming to the simplest college regulations were numerous and varied. The only conversation that I had with him which might in any sense be regarded as relevant was a brief discussion after so serious a breach of college conduct that it had been necessary to suspend him. In such cases a boy is sent home and the college authorities naturally wish to be sure that he goes there. Where the father and mother have been divorced, this of itself is a slight complication, for each has a separate residence and you cannot send the boy to both places. I knew there had been a divorce in the case of the Whites.

It was, however, necessary for us to know where the son would spend his two weeks. I asked Percy, therefore, whether he intended to spend them with his father.

"If it's all the same to you," he replied, "I would rather not." I explained to him that in that case it would be entirely satisfactory if he spent them with his mother. He

did not care to do this either, but felt that some explanation was necessary. "You know my father and mother were divorced when I was four years old, and both of them have married again and have younger children. I guess you can see that it's awkward. I just don't feel that I belong." He realized, as such boys do, that his situation was peculiar and that it caused me embarrassment, since under the rule I was supposed to send him home. Of his own volition he therefore made a rather unusual request.

"Wouldn't it be possible," he inquired, "for you to send me up to M?" M was the preparatory school from which he had been graduated. In other words, to this social waif whose father and mother were both living, an institution in which he had spent two years was the only place which, by any stretch of the imagination, he could recognize as home.

I have said that I did not have this boy's confidence before his suspension, though, as was necessary, he came in to see me on his return and we had a rather perfunctory talk. In spite of his socially unfortunate tendencies, I could not help respecting his honesty and manliness. He, too, left after further difficulties. After many years' service as a disciplinary official, in which one has general responsibility and oversight of the conduct of thousands of young men, one becomes inured to the necessity of corrective or disciplinary measures. One cannot allow his sympathies or emotions to become too deeply involved, and after dealing with hundreds of cases of undergraduate misconduct, I came, as one must, to regard them as part of the day's work. I suppose I learned to wield the big stick with the

rest and the best of them, but I confess that in cases like this, even after years, I could not do it with any assurance. It is possible, of course, and sometimes defensible from the social viewpoint, to punish one individual for the good of the community. There must be judges, policemen, hangmen and deans. But in cases like White's and Jenks' you are left hopelessly at a loss. These boys are not really malefactors, and one is conscious that they have already been punished through long, unhappy years. Instead of punishing them further, one cannot escape the feeling that somebody owes them something, and instead of treating them like criminals, they should be regarded as the victims of an unjust social order.

When we try to discover the reason for the differential in conduct between sons of divorce and normal boys, we must be content to wander about in the realm of conjecture until further study is given to the problem. Some part of the difficulty probably lies in the fact that such children have been unfortunate in their parents. For, though there are signal exceptions, the men and women who seek early relief in the divorce courts are more than likely to belong to the emotionally unstable, happiness-hunting group. They lack those virtues of patience and mutual forbearance which are quite as necessary to successful parenthood as to successful marriage. Whether or not some of these qualities are transmitted to the infant by heredity, there can be no doubt that where the parents suffer from these disabilities the child will show their effects.

But aside from this, in our Western civilization the home has been the central social cell and the most im-

portant influence in education. It is there that the primary and fundamental attitudes and emotions are developed. There the child is trained to his sense of dependence upon others and responsibility to them. Confidence in the world and the sense of obligation spring from the family. They beget the earliest and deepest loyalties which make life possible and satisfying, and this sense of allegiance is later extended to include the child's community, country, and society as a whole. Where the sense of family solidarity is deficient, the sense of social solidarity will be weaker. The child is left morally marooned. His father and mother —the two persons whose example means most to him— are forever at strife. Since even they could not agree or live in harmony, it is difficult for him to believe in the reality of friendship or the social bonds, and he often becomes the lone-wolf type of boy, unhappy, morose and prematurely cynical. He is forced in upon himself and gives his confidence to no one. His is a case of maladjustment to society, and this is not because he is vicious or wicked, but because he is unhappy and has been underprivileged.

There are those who will object that the divorce itself is not the cause of the difficulties of these children, and there is something to be said on this score. Even had there been no divorce, these sons, they tell us, would have been condemned to live in unhappy homes, and it is better that the parents should separate and go their divided ways than that they should everlastingly wrangle in the presence of their children. I would be the last to minimize the unfortunate effects of quarrelling in the presence of one's

children. This, too, is a very great evil, and I can only suggest that this is not the only option open even to an undivorced, if unhappy, husband or wife, and remind them that neither good manners nor good morals sanction it. This, however, may be only futile, academic, old-fashioned moralizing, and I wish to confine myself to facts and reality as experience with young men has revealed them to me. It is not the parents who suffer as a result of divorce, but the children. From their standpoint, divorce in nearly every case causes more troubles than it cures. In normal homes, even where parents disagree about a boy's conduct or plans, he has a sense that both of them are acting in his interest. It may be mentally confusing, but is not emotionally upsetting or unbalancing, as the situation becomes after the home is broken, when they are both fighting for his allegiance. After divorce is pronounced, the son frequently becomes only a pawn. Even where both parents are individually fond of him, too often an element of selfish contention enters in.

This was strikingly illustrated in violations of our automobile regulations. Our college rules, like those of many other institutions, at one time allowed only upperclassmen to own cars at college under certain conditions of registration, and we had been forced to regard it as a serious misdemeanor for an underclassman to keep or drive one about the campus. I have no means of knowing just how frequently this rule was violated through the agency of wealthy divorced parents. I can say that most of the cases which came to my attention originated with them. Three times in two years I was forced to deal with

cases in which, in order to outdo her former mate in generosity, a mother had given her son a car, thus knowingly and willfully involving him in a serious violation of university rules. One of these cases resulted in a bit of tragicomedy. Both parents came down to protest against the severity of the penalty I had felt it necessary to impose upon their sophomore son. The mother had married again, and brought her second husband with her. For some time we manœuvred to keep them and the first husband apart, but they finally met by accident in my office, in the presence of the son. I was for a time compelled to defend the university's position in an unequal combat of one against three. When, however, at a certain point the father accused the mother of having given the son the car in order to "steal a march" upon him, the new husband resented this imputation of motives. In the twinkling of an eye the opposition was divided against itself and almost came to blows, while my presence was forgotten and I retreated from the field unseen.

At the risk of appearing ungallant, candor compels me to admit that not only in this case but in all that came to my attention, it was the mother who had presented the car. I am inclined to believe that they love their sons more, or at least more blindly, and care less for regulations. But even where divorce, as so often, results in overindulgence, the truer interests of the boy are not served, for in such contests of selfish generosity it is often the recipient who loses. Where parents are unwilling or unable to practise forbearance in the interest of the boy and the boy's home, it is idle, human nature being what it is, to expect them to

practise greater forbearance after they have sacrificed the boy's home and have only the boy remaining as a bone of contention between them.

Such facts will not astonish those who have been brought directly into contact with this situation, and able judges testify that "the element of fraud is present in 75 per cent of divorce cases and other cases involving domestic relations." I believe they are right, and it is unfair to expect that children who in their most impressionable years are forced into these legal and moral muddles will do as well as others. They are, naturally, less amenable to the recognized standards of good group conduct in school, college or city life.

It is not my purpose to suggest a remedy. There is, I am afraid, no simple and readily available cure such as extremists on both sides propose. As I see it, the child, the most innocent, and from society's standpoint, the most important party to the contract, is dropped out of society's reckoning. Juvenile courts do admirable work. But one of the difficulties is that we have too many different courts and that they can deal only with minor aspects of the problem of the fractured family and not with the major problem itself. While a child's case is being decided in a juvenile court, the marital difficulties of his parents, which often caused the child's troubles, are before the domestic relations or divorce court. Still a different court may only recently have adjudicated the case of desertion or failure to provide, which was part of the difficulty. In a recent discussion Judge Charles W. Hoffman, of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts of Cincinnati, is authority for

the statement that in some States "it is possible that ten courts may be dealing in one way or another with the same family." In some of these courts rules of evidence prevent bringing to the judges' attention really pertinent facts; and as a result, they issue contradictory orders and add to the confusion. That is why earnest students of the problem, like Judge Hoffman, have concluded that no court with jurisdiction in but one or two phases of family trouble can function effectively, even though called a court of domestic relations.

If this condition is causing trouble to courts, it should not be forgotten that where there are children, the weakening of the marriage tie is also causing trouble to schools and colleges. For them too, it is difficult to deal justly and fairly with those complicated problems which involve and vex the alarmingly increasing number of unhappy children of divorce.

CHAPTER XII

THE CODE OF THE UNDERGRADUATE

I USED to notice on ocean liners or in the smoker of Pullmans that when strangers learned that the odd man in the group was or had been a college professor they often opened hostilities by asking him, "What do you think of the American undergraduate?" in much the same fashion as a foreigner might ask "What do you think of the American Indian?" The spirit in which they put the question to the teacher was like that in which bad boys tantalize a lubberly turtle. They try to tempt him to stick his head out so they can poke him where it hurts.

The academic mind is unsuspecting and the professor addressed would usually oblige by attempting to answer. This would almost inevitably start a free for all discussion which was likely to become acrimonious if in the group around the professor there were present employers of young college graduates. The charges of some such employers would fill a rather large book. In the main, however, they would fall under two headings; first, the college man is irresponsible and careless about his obligations, and, second, he is so bumptious that after working six months in an office as a clerk he expects to be made the president of the company.

Now that I am forced to put this troublesome question to myself, I shall, therefore, proceed with circumspection and instead of coming out point-blank with the statement

that he is "the best fellow ever" or "the world's worst reprobate," I shall confess that as I have seen him he is neither. The one thing that is significant about him is that he has a different ethics. He is not always governed by the same principles which regulate the conduct of employers or of fairly isolated older individuals, like his father. It may shock some of his parents and even some of his professors to learn this, but as I have seen the undergraduate, over and over again what seems to be his peculiarly annoying conduct has been dictated to him by a compelling code of gang morality. Even the very best undergraduates are subject to it. Let the reader here put in his demurrer if he disapproves. I shall return to this later and try to make my contention clearer.

In the meantime let us begin with something upon which a group of outsiders, including even a hostile employer, could agree. First of all, let us admit that the undergraduate is human and that he is young. Let us remember also that either or both of these characteristics may constitute a liability. Since he is young and human he changes somewhat during the four years that he is in college and I am quite willing to admit here on the kick-off that however poor a thing he may still be in his employer's estimation, when he graduates he has usually changed for the better.

It is, perhaps, not necessary to prove that there is such an increase in social maturity going on rather steadily during the four years of college. Not many weeks ago I sat on a Commencement platform and watched "the grave old seniors" file by and receive their diplomas. When I

remembered what immature boys some of them had been on their first blundering appearance in a freshman classroom or in the university offices I could not help feeling that all the painful efforts of their professors had not been in vain. Everyone who has had any experience with college men will immediately concede that in most cases there is this difference at least between the freshman and the senior; the freshman realizes that he is a beginner and that he is a pollywog in the big pond. He is often awkward but he is willing to learn and amenable to suggestion. However much he may occasionally try to hide it, he is cowed or at least affected by the presence of so many who outrank him, are older in the ways of this new world. Much of this, indeed too much, disappears when he is a sophomore, usually the most class-conscious year of collegiate existence. The old college song calls the juniors "stately" and the seniors "grave" and there is some warrant for these adjectives. Though the outsider may find this over-subtle I can assure him that there are such differences of poise and bearing, of assurance, of social attitude and maturity, and that they are so real that I have known college policemen who could on sight pick out of a mixed crowd of undergraduates the members of the freshman class even when they showed no distinguishing outward marks.

At any given time except for the effects of rooted local traditions or "customs" I have found undergraduates pretty much the same in all of the colleges. There are noticeable outward changes from decade to decade, for particularly in our times there is a sort of free masonry

of the colleges so that just because of this odd code of theirs they seem to signal to each other and react in much the same way to changing social customs in our country. The most significant differences are to be found between the type of boy who only attends classes in a large city university and lives, eats and often works at home, and the young man who goes away to the residential college where all students live, eat, work and play on the campus. In this latter type the advantages or disadvantages of college life are strongest, old customs take root more easily and rapidly and are likely to persist longer since they are less interfered with by the big world outside. So, for instance, when as a result of a strike against the high price of clothing, some ten years ago at Princeton, undergraduates began to wear cheap painters' overalls and jackets, they started one more "old custom," for this was the origin of the white uniform, the so-called "beer suit" with the class emblem painted on its back, now worn by seniors in the spring of their last year. So also, when a group at Dartmouth recently decided that the undergraduates should all wear "shorts" with bare knees showing, it may be that this innovation likewise started an old custom. Citizens of small college towns establish what might be called a toleration to undergraduate eccentricities. But such practices are clearly impossible to the boy living at home and attending classes, say at Chicago or Cincinnati or Boston University. There the intolerant gaze of the passengers on the elevated and the raised eyebrows of the shop girl would soon tend to wither the outlandish fad.

Even those who feel that the American undergraduate

is like the American Indian must admit that even Indians differ among themselves. The fierce Sioux was not like the friendly Delaware. So it is with the college student. At first sight he seems to defy classification, yet just as, because of his racial heredity, no Indian is outwardly or in his mental set altogether like a Chinaman or Hindu, so because of his association and environment and the "gang morality" it begets, no undergraduate is quite like, let us say, a day laborer or skilled mechanic. They will have points of contact but their different ways of life will, in some respects at least, have given them different habits and attitudes and to a certain degree have conditioned what psychologists nowadays call their behavior patterns.

One of the most important incidental differences between the college man and the boy who has started at the bottom with a railroad or a manufacturing company is that in most cases the college man has not yet become accustomed to regular stated hours of work. In most institutions his classes fall at odd hours during the week. It may be that on Monday he has one class at eight, another class at three in the afternoon; in between he has no stated obligations. Tuesday his first class may fall at eleven in the morning and Wednesday morning he may have no recitation hours at all. I have come to believe that this irregularity of schedules is in many cases the reason why certain undergraduates cut their classes so frequently and are so often tardy in meeting their assignments. The charge of shiftlessness and irresponsibility made by so many employers, in part at least, goes back to this score. I have seen many cases of undergraduates who in college

were unable to meet their appointments but who after being forced into a regular régime were quite as dependable as any other workmen. If it is any consolation to their later employers, I for one am willing to concede that this casualness, this irregularity of undergraduate habits, is often a trial to their professors as well.

I remember, for instance, the case of my young friend Bob. He was a thoroughly fine fellow, had even been elected to an office of decided responsibility toward his classmates and the college. This he discharged conscientiously and well, yet he simply could not get himself up in the morning for an eight-thirty or a nine-thirty class. In spite of his otherwise excellent record I several times felt that we should have to dismiss him for cutting classes beyond the allowance and he was several times given "final warning." The worst of it was that he seemed to do everything within human power to correct this except to put himself upon a regular régime. Every time he was summoned on this score he would buy a new and louder alarm clock and set it in a new dishpan, until he had a battery of four of them working for him. This proved ineffective. He could sleep through the four of them. He then prevailed upon one of his classmates, on days when he had an eight-thirty or nine-thirty class, not only to wake him, but also, as he was inclined to go to sleep again, to throw him out upon the floor. One day his classmate was himself late and forgot him. Bob then hired his janitor not only to drag him out upon the carpet but also to pour a pitcher of water on his head. In spite of this heroic treatment, after his final warning, he again slept through

a ten-thirty class. It looked like a hopeless pathological case. After graduation I recommended him with considerable hesitation to a construction company where it was necessary for him to appear shortly before seven every morning. It was his responsibility to see that the heavy machinery like the crushers, mixers and cranes were tested and started and ready to function before the laborers arrived. Some six months later the superintendent to whom I had explained his weakness for oversleeping wrote me enthusiastically about my friend Bob and his work, adding that he had never been a minute late in all this time. He had regular hours now with a vengeance. Cranes, crushers and mixers were far more real than any lectures in economics or history ever could have been. It is only fair to add that I have known any number of cases of such irregularity in college which disappeared literally in the twinkling of an eye when the boy was taken out of his somewhat artificial undergraduate environment and given what he considered a real and a regular job.

I have intimated that a teacher of experience can tell almost at a glance a freshman from a sophomore or a junior. The man in the street will more readily understand this if he has ever been the foreman of a gang of workmen or an office manager. Even though he has never seen a particular employee before, he is able to tell by the way he stands around or attacks his work, keeping a furtive eye meanwhile on his fellow workmen and the boss, whether he is a new comer or has had considerable previous experience in such a group. All young men in business are, of course, not equally competent, neither are all

freshmen nor for that matter all seniors. By the time they reach college they have often formed unfortunate habits and their emotional and temperamental natures have been differentiated. They cannot all be reduced to one model. It is necessary to mention this commonplace truth since critics and even parents who try to run the colleges for us, urge us to "treat them all alike." In one respect we do and we must.

When a college graduates a man and gives him a degree it certifies to the public and particularly to later employers or professional schools that he has learned a certain amount and has proved that he has acquired a passable degree of mental training. Upon this minimum intellectual accomplishment every self-respecting college must insist. If the student does not attain it, hard as it is in individual cases, he must fail of graduation. This is probably the point upon which every college is most severely criticised. It is, of course, a terrible shock and disappointment to the boy and to his parents to find that he cannot be graduated with his class, and the college is frequently accused of not discharging its obligation to the student whom it has accepted when it does not pass him. The other side of it is, of course, that if it wishes its degree to mean anything, it does not discharge its responsibility to the public where it passes a boy, certifies him as a bachelor of arts when he has failed to reach this standard. In this respect they must all be treated alike. That, however, is about the only respect in which they can be.

The point is illustrated by the different ways in which undergraduates approach examinations, the means usually

employed by the college to test this proficiency. In our last graduating class I knew one boy, Dick, who had three examinations on three successive days. During this period he had eaten very little, only an occasional sandwich, drank innumerable cups of coffee and slept one hour. He worked every day and every night up to the last minute before he entered the examination room. He passed very creditably and his last examination was the best of the three. His mind seemed to become clearer and work faster on this régime of semi-starvation, overtension and overwork. When it was over he was on the verge of collapse.

I know another case which is quite the opposite. This man as an undergraduate was and is still one of the most effective intellectual workers I have ever known. He deliberately worked less during an examination period than at any other time. If he had an examination the next day he laid his books aside before dinner the night before and gave himself an evening's holiday. He would attend a movie, or play a game of bridge with his friends. At ten he went to bed. He rose at six, slipped on his track suit, jogged five or six miles into the country, came back, took a shower, ate a light breakfast and went to his examinations. This process, he held, put his mind into what an athlete would call the pink of condition. There was never any doubt about the results and he is to-day one of the world's greatest authorities on complicated matters of finance and coinage.

I met my haggard friend, Dick, the night before his first examination and tried to persuade him to follow this method and go to bed. He shook his head. "Why, if I had

to go to bed at ten, I'd simply lie there and worry. I'd remember something that wasn't quite clear and be sure I'd get it on the examination. I'd think of some new problem they might give me and want to get up and work it out. If I stayed in bed I'd be in a worse frazzle in the morning than I am now." There is no doubt in my mind that in general Dick's system was far poorer than my older friend's. Yet it is also true that temperaments and previous habit and training are so different that it is impossible in fairness to impose one system upon all. The college must often reckon with such differences which are not of its own creation.

Everyone will admit that some tall loafing is done on every campus but his own. Candor compels me to include even the campus I myself know best and I would even be willing under pressure to say a good word for some of the accomplished loafers I have met. They have almost succeeded in making an art of what is in reality only a bad habit. They are usually genial and good-natured about it and add a human touch of leisure and gaiety to campus life. I sometimes feel that just as the courts of kings used to find it necessary to keep a professional clown or fool, so every college class should contain at least one good loafer. This quota, let me hasten to add, is usually filled without any straining on anyone's part. They help to keep narrower-minded professors from making of education too drab and grim a business. Besides, when the axe falls they take their punishment like men. I remember one such youth who once took all the wind out of my sails. He had managed for some time to

absent himself from all class exercises. I tried to reprimand him for this oversight but was not sufficiently tactful in my choice of words. When I told him that no student would so neglect his opportunities, his pride was really hurt. "But, dean," he protested, "I'm not a *student,* I'm only an inmate." There are a few such on every well-regulated campus.

The college loafer has, however, received more than his fair share of attention. We have reached a point where in the public's estimation he overshadows every other class in college with the possible exception of the athlete. This is a considerable exaggeration so far as the deliberate conscious loafer is concerned. There are many who loaf in college, because they are temperamentally or intellectually incapable of really doing college work. They do not even realize that they are loafing. Their case is more serious really than that of the conscious loafer for unlike him they do not know what is wrong with themselves. For them college experience is inevitably bad and the unfortunate habits and "failure complexes" which they acquire make of them a social as well as a college liability which can and should be reduced.

There is another type of undergraduate who illustrates one phase of the undergraduate's code and who causes his professor considerable annoyance and worry. Occasionally when that professor is not too tired he provides him with some amusement as well. He is the type of young man, and this includes a host of undergraduates, who is forever trying to "beat the game." I have known cases where they would spend days and nights in thinking out and plan-

ning some intricate scheme or excuse which in the end would spare its inventor at most only a few hours of work in preparing for a test or net him only a very thin slice of additional vacation. The fertility of the undergraduate in devising excuses for himself is justly proverbial. Nothing enlists his interest more keenly and a dean must of necessity see much of this, especially at certain seasons of the year. The weeks before the winter holiday used to be and still are for many, such a time. Most colleges used to start vacation a few days before Christmas and close it a day or two after New Year's. Some of them still do this. In order to allow undergraduates who lived at a distance to spend Christmas Day with their families, it was customary to grant "travel time" to those who could show cause why in their cases an exception should be made and a few additional hours or a day, as the case might be, added to the regular vacation. With us, and I am afraid with most colleges, this system proved to be so general an invitation for all undergraduates to exercise their ingenuity and inventiveness that we were forced in self-defense to abate this nuisance and start the vacation officially and for all, five days before Christmas and close it about January 6th. This would allow virtually everybody to spend the two holidays at home. In spite of all official announcements, the fiction that travel time could still be obtained would not die and even for years after we instituted the change, the hopeful undergraduate would appear with a petition and a new and more amazing excuse to justify it.

There are "mourners' benches" upon which those who

have been "summoned" or who have such petitions, sit while they wait their turn. These benches were crowded for weeks before the holiday. There were, of course, a few legitimate requests among them but you could count upon the fact that this typical undergraduate would always be in the crowd, willing to spend literally hours in waiting just to see whether in the general conspiracy he could not wangle out of you an additional thirty minutes to take an earlier train. There were, of course, the old stock stories. A boy's eyes or teeth had suddenly gone bad and could only be set right by the oculist or dentist at home. There were family anniversaries, a silver wedding or a grandmother's birthday and it was necessary that all members of the family, including, of course, the undergraduate, be present. There were weddings or announcements of engagements of brothers or sisters or best friends. And once in a long time some vague great-aunt had died.

The mourner on the bench would, while waiting his turn, explain to his fellow conspirators just how he was going to phrase his request. When they are playing this game it is expected of every loyal member of the group that he will signal to his fellows and spare them any useless effort. They are like the hoboes who with a chalk mark indicate to their friends whether your house is worth visiting or not and whether you are hard-boiled or an "easy mark." In neither case does it mean that he has anything against you. It only means that you, like the prosaic householder, do not belong to his fraternity. If you refused him and watched carefully your petitioner as he left the room you would perhaps notice that he shook his head ever so

slightly as he passed the bench on the way out. This would mean that it did not work. That same excuse would not be presented again that morning. If he nodded, which meant that he had won, you would be sure within a half hour to hear that same tale again.

Office hours on such occasions were likely to be long and trying and I am sure every dean has sometimes lost in playing this wearing game with his young friends. They play it, not only to get the often insignificant privilege involved, but because to have "gotten away" with a successful excuse is for quite a normal type of boy a triumph for the group, so much so that the new dodge is passed on even from college to college. On one occasion, after refusing a persistent petitioner three times, I told him that under no circumstances could he be given additional time unless he brought me an urgent request from his father whom I had learned to know as a strict parent. Yet the day before the vacation he came in again, this time with a genuine telegram signed by his father, "Come straight home." It looked compelling and I granted his request. The joke, however, was too good to keep and he explained after the vacation that he had telegraphed his father, "Shall I come via Chicago or shall I come straight home?" As "via Chicago" would have meant in his case several hundred miles more and considerable additional expense, the father had quite naturally replied with the winning message. I learned later to my further humiliation that this had been tried in other institutions.

This does not prove that the undergraduate is wicked

or sly. To have stolen the bell clapper or to have worked a new prank or excuse means that he has added another scalp to the tribal belt. He is young. Group consciousness is involved and he is more pleased than his elders can understand when thanks to his ingenuity he has got for himself or his crowd something for nothing particularly at the expense of those unco-operative aliens of the faculty and administration. In this respect the typical undergraduate will treat the town policeman and the outside community in the same way that he treats the college and its officers. We may deplore the foolish and really anti-social practice of stealing signs but we must recognize that they constitute in only too many cases the most prized decorations of freshman and sophomore rooms. They are not beautiful. Neither are scalps; but they are trophies of successful forays into the enemy's territory.

During his undergraduate years and since, one of my very best friends was a really admirable and talented young man whom I must disguise as "Sandy." I counted upon him heavily to become a highly useful and distinguished citizen and he has not belied my hopes. He probably had held as many undergraduate offices of responsibility as any member of his class. He had discharged them conscientiously and well. He had even been the most favored candidate for the presidency of the college religious society. I was much taken aback to learn after his graduation that the most highly prized object in an otherwise faultlessly furnished room was a traffic sign evidently filched from the busiest corner in the world, Broadway and 42nd Street. It was treasurable for this same reason

and I was told that when Sandy was up for election, his friends, and he had hosts of them, would bring awed freshmen to his door and let them gaze upon this badge of courage which in its mute eloquence proclaimed his capacity for leadership, even in a religious organization.

There is another aspect of this gang or group morality which is less attractive. We might as well call spades spades and admit that in many colleges there is on tests and examinations a really unhealthy amount of what can only properly be called cheating. The undergraduates of one American college with the very best traditions complained not long ago that half of its students were guilty of this. There may have been some exaggeration in the statement but it should not blind us to the fact that this shameful practice is altogether too common. What makes it so is the mistaken feeling on the part of the undergraduate that when he indulges in such dishonesty he is not really sinning against his own conscience but "putting something over" on a group of outsiders. In another institution the midyear examinations in required mathematics fell at the time of a January thaw. Most of the undergraduates appeared in the long hip boots then in vogue. One of them, thoroughly ashamed of the performance, afterward told me that they did so because the necessary formulas had all been copied out inside their boots. This cribbing arrangement was most convenient since in a heated room the tops could be turned down gradually to the required place without attracting suspicion. At Princeton forty years ago cheating became so general that it finally disgusted the undergraduates themselves. A few

other institutions have had the same experience. They took the only action which can really be effective and founded an "honor system."

Just because of the strength of this community group conscience there is only one way to make such a system effective, as to my certain knowledge those, for instance, at Princeton and Virginia have been for many years. The faculty and administrative officers must step aside utterly and turn over the whole problem of honesty in examinations, lock, stock and barrel, to the undergraduates themselves and let them deal with it in their fashion. When undergraduates really found such a system it means that they have become convinced that cheating must be regarded by them as an offense against their own code and no longer merely one against faculty and trustees. A violator is then judged as having forfeited his place in the group and is drummed out of town by his own classmates. The striking examples of successful honor systems prove that this group conscience may be directed to higher social aims. If cheating, then, is in many institutions only too common, stealing by one undergraduate from another is, I believe, amazingly rare. Though in a college community articles of general use are, as we have seen, more communistically owned than in the world outside, no normal undergraduate dreams of permanently appropriating to himself what really belongs to his fellows.

I have spoken of "gang" morality and recognize that the phrase is not a pretty one. That it should still exist among a group of young men who are living a common life somewhat apart from general society need not, how-

ever, surprise us. Our deepest loyalties are rooted in some such sense of social cohesion.

If you happen to live in even one of the most "select residential communities," and there are in the various houses of that neighborhood a group of a dozen or fifteen young boys of approximately the same age, even though they are the sons of the best families, you may be sure they constitute some such group or gang. They have their secrets and ritual and code. They have nothing whatever against their parents or against the policeman or the mail carrier, and yet such older outsiders cannot possibly belong. Neighborhood groups may, and sometimes do, become the nuclei of our criminal gangs, but it is also through some such sense of group association that we are all initiated into the mysteries and morals of social life.

We may safely regard some undergraduate practices as vestigial traces of a somewhat more primitive tribal morality. I have heard professors, who have themselves in undergraduate days passed through this stage, fulminate against the depravity of undergraduates when the very outbreak of which they complain is quite like what occurred in their own day and their own college, and is such as is almost bound to occur in a healthy, spirited youthful group that has, as loyal undergraduates should have, this sense of community interest. Whether we like it or not, all this is involved in what we on other occasions proudly call "college spirit."

Even where we deplore the existence of a group code we recognize that it has at least one virtue. The proverb tells us that there is honor among thieves. Although

thievery, as we have seen, is not a vice of undergraduates, yet the sense of mutual dependence among them is in many cases quite as strong as it is among social outcasts. In spite of all this, there are still colleges which believe that "the college" stands for something much higher than the morality of its undergraduate members, and when a prank has been committed it tries to force them in the interest of this presumably higher morality to "tell upon" their fellows. This was the very general practice of colleges during the last century. After any outbreak individual students would be put through the third degree in an attempt to make them side with the authorities in maintaining the moral standard. They would be pressed to reveal the names of the ringleaders, directly or by implication. When students failed to do so there were wholesale suspensions but no real improvement, for to try to do this was really to sin against the very heart of the undergraduate's code and to forfeit his respect.

I have seen case after case in which four or five boys in a room were concerned in some breach of rules. Later evidence would prove that only one had really been guilty, yet all the rest would assume and indeed claim a larger share of the blame than really belonged to them when they suspected that if they revealed their innocence it would by implication involve the real culprit more deeply. A student will not "unload" upon a classmate even where he dislikes him and could lighten his own penalty. He will, on the other hand, particularly in freshman and sophomore years, "rough-house" with his fellows and put his own room "on the bum" if it makes for

everybody's happiness. We must remember, however, that "everybody" to him is just a little bit exclusive. It includes only the other undergraduates involved. The people downstairs, campus and town policemen, professors and deans, belong to another world.

Let me repeat that I have been telling only the worst that I know about the undergraduate. He has his heroic side which I must to-day omit from consideration. His responses to life are quick and hearty and his loyalties are deep and generous. I have seen so many instances of this that it would take a volume and not a chapter to begin to recount them. It is, of course, true that the upperclassman, with the gain in maturity which I have mentioned, comes more and more to take on the manner and attitude of the responsible citizen. He begins to smile indulgently and tolerantly at the foolishness and pranks of freshmen and sophomores, yet some part of this undergraduate consciousness, though it grows thinner in the senior, usually remains to the end.

Let us admit then that the undergraduate in general does not always see things from the standpoint of what will finally be to the best interests of all humanity—even a few of his elders do not. He may, because he is young, be a bit careless and shiftless about valuable privileges and things. He may, because he belongs to a group, like members of any other "gang," be a bit careless about the comfort and possible rights of outsiders. He is capable of making night hideous with an immense amount of useless noise at hours that bring real hardship to tired, deserving, hardworking citizens who have earned their

rest. It is often more difficult than it should be for the finicky and, alas, even the infirm and the aged to live in the neighborhood of a campus.

When his undergraduate days are over and he must leave his crowd, if you put him into the larger world of business or affairs, like my young friend Bob, he will go at things more seriously. He will, if he was a good college man, still have some of his enthusiasm, and if he has been loyal in his way to his classmates and college he will in all human probability, if you employ him, now become loyal in your way to your organization. His education is not finished when he leaves the campus, but if he keeps on growing as most college men should and do, he will become loyal to the larger purposes of mankind as well.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XIII

AN EXAMINATION FOR PARENTS

IN a discussion of what should constitute the proper method of selecting candidates for admission to college, I made the suggestion a few years ago that in addition to the examinations which the colleges now give to candidates they should give one as well to the candidate's parents. Some people found the notion odd. It was, however, received with an encouraging amount of veiled enthusiasm by high school principals, headmasters and deans. They said that the idea was an excellent one and would result in much good, but when it came to putting it into practice, they basely deserted and like the men in the biblical parable, with one accord began to make excuses. Yet their only objection was that the project was impracticable. They probably felt as did a friend of mine, the ablest director of admissions that I know. When I urged him to make the experiment he shook his head sadly. He admitted that you could make no safe prediction of a candidate's success or happiness upon a campus unless you knew some things about his parents, but, he added, "It would be my last experiment. After I had subjected my first class of parents to such an examination, I should have to withdraw to the cyclone cellar. My limited usefulness would be at an end."

I had realized when I made the suggestion that probably no college would have the spirit to adopt it. I had

hoped, however, that some parents would take it seriously. They did. Unfortunately, as usually happens in such cases, they were not the parents who most needed to do so.

Recently in gathering material on the question why students fail, I wrote to about twenty-five college presidents and deans for their opinions. Among the various causes for such failure nearly all of them included as more or less important a category which they designated variously as "poor up-bringing," "troubles at home," "unsatisfactory relations to parents." Quite clearly the parent is occasionally responsible for the failure of his son or daughter at college. For that reason, in spite of the difficulties, I am returning to my earlier proposal.

As a matter of fact, colleges do even now make certain inquiries about the candidate's parents. On his matriculation slip he is supposed to give his father's name, to indicate his business or profession, whether he was or was not a college graduate, and if so of what college. None of these facts are, however, significant for our purposes. The reasons the colleges have not resorted to a full length examination is probably because they are afraid the parents would consider the process inquisitorial. "It is trouble enough to have to examine the sons," my friend, the director of admissions, had told me. "No one pair of American parents would ever consent to be examined by a group of academic aliens. They have no recognized superiors."

Since, clearly, many boys do fail because of parental shortcomings, it would seem fair that parents should be examined if only, as it were, confidentially. Since, also,

self-examination is the most profitable, it would be best and would really obviate every objection if parents examined themselves. In order to facilitate the process I have, therefore, prepared the following examination which the father or mother who has a child in school or college may take in the privacy of his own home.

Every schoolmaster and dean realizes that there are certain fathers and mothers who might be classed as conscientious objectors to all educational constraints. They object consistently to every move of the school or college. But if we waive this small, intractable group and assume that there are fathers and mothers self-sacrificing enough to subject themselves to the hard tests of success in parenthood, what questions would schools and colleges ask them if they dared?

Such examinations, like all others, should be fair and not too personal. Let the parent, therefore, reassure himself. It would not be necessary to ask him to pass tests on the Latin, or the algebra, or the French, or even the American history which he had in school and has probably forgotten. His son, in all human probability, can pass these much better than he can. The parents' responsibility for a son or daughter in school or college does not lie primarily on the intellectual side. If the boy was born with fair intelligence and has been subjected to normal and not "freak" processes of schooling, this is about all that the college could here demand. The parent could, of course, have done a great deal more in the way of reading with his son and providing that kind of background which gives him a deep-seated respect for cul-

tural values and the higher things in civilization. The college would not wish, however, in a first examination, to be exacting and I, for one, would be willing to confine myself to what I regard as the primary responsibility of parents for the success of their children in school and college. That, as I see it, is simply this. Father and mother, the family, are responsible for a boy's moral and physical welfare and his social education. If they have done their full duty by him he will, when he enters school or college, have acquired a sense of life's primary loyalties and will be able to handle himself in the ordinary and usual situations which arise under conditions of group life.

Every headmaster and dean has seen a number of really pathetic cases of homesickness. I can remember in my first year as an instructor in a Middle Western college, having had turned over to me a sixteen-year-old lad who had brilliantly completed his course in a high school of the far West. The family were fairly well-to-do; his room had been engaged and he had arrived at the university, but his landlady reported that though his trunk had been received, he refused to open it. He was homesick and already planning to take the long trip back to the coast. I was detailed to try to persuade him to remain, and took him in the evening to a students' restaurant which to most prospective freshmen would have been highly diverting with the crowd and hubbub of the opening of college. It did not cheer him; tears rolled down his cheeks and he left town the next morning. This boy was not to be a college failure. He is now a highly successful lawyer.

He had lived in an atmosphere of friendliness and sympathetic encouragement all his life, but he was then too young and the transition too abrupt. He returned the following year, laughed at his own childishness, and his record at college was as brilliant as had been his record in school. Cases in which a boy or girl suffers from such homesickness in their first days in a strange environment do not indicate parental failure. Quite the contrary. It will later be evident that we shall make much of loyalty. In such instances this rudimentary virtue, without which no one can really succeed in the group life of school or university has been strongly developed. The first wrenches in the process of adaptation to a new environment will be particularly painful to those already adapted to an old one, but the sense of loyalty is fortunately transferable, and if the school does not sin against the already deep-rooted sense of what is fair and just, such new arrivals soon become its moral backbone. Let us merely admit then, preliminarily, that the homesick boy or girl, strange as it may seem, does not necessarily fall in the overcoddled class and that the primary responsibility of the family has been to bring its son up in such fashion that with the normal amount of attention that can be given to the newcomer, a properly conducted school may expect him to become a responsible member of his new community.

Before we take up specific questions and are still limiting the scope of the parental test, let us explain one further fact which should be clear but unfortunately is not. Self-satisfied parents have the notion that school and col-

lege life are one long uninterrupted heyday. It is only necessary to get the boy in and, like the hero or heroine in novels, he will live happily ever after. This is too often a cruel misconception. There are many cases of unhappy, unadaptable boys in school and college. In schools they are classed as "problem boys," and in colleges usually as psychopathic cases. The unhappiness of this too large group is not caused in any sense by the curriculum and the heavy exactions of teachers and professors. As a matter of fact, for such a boy, work in and for his classes may be the one slight source of satisfaction. Even where they pass their courses these boys constitute the most distressing class of failures, and nearly all such cases of failure are rooted in mistakes made by parents in pre-school years or in the years of early schooling. There is one invariable test as to whether or not a parent has succeeded in what we have called the social education of a child. It is simply this. Does the boy know his place? The whole problem of the unadaptable boy is often just that. In some cases he has never been given any place in his family or his neighborhood. In other cases conditions in the family have been so uncertain and shifting and his social education so desultory that he does not know what his place is or where he belongs. A boy whose "home training" has been satisfactory will know (1) his place in the family and (2) his place in a group of boys or girls of his own age and (3) his place among his elders and just what in all three of these situations he may legitimately expect and what may legitimately be expected of him.

Ultra-conservative parents may derive a little more aid and comfort from my statement that their child should know his place than I really intended they should. For a boy to know this it is necessary that his parents also should know it, and in a family the relationship is of course one of mutuality. You cannot set a five-year-old boy on a chair in a corner and order him to be good the livelong day and punish him when he is not. This simply means that you have not yet given him a place in the general family life, for bringing him into which you are responsible. You cannot spend your winters at Palm Beach or in Europe, turn him over to nurses and expect him to be devoted to you. In the premises he will probably feel that he owes more in obedience and devotion to the nurse, if she is a good one, than to you. It is only right that he should. He is loyal when he does. You have, as yet, given him no place in the family.

In order that the parent should have a fair idea of the boy's part in the group life about him, he should, of course, fairly early and consistently assure himself of just where his particular son stands in comparison to other boys, first on the physical and then on the intellectual side. This question has so many ramifications, is so fundamental in the training of the boy at home, in indicating to him his proper forms of work and of recreation, and later in helping him to choose the proper school and career for himself that I am inclined to place it first and in the following form.

I. Have you a fair idea of how your son stands in comparison to other boys, physically and intellectually?

It is clear, of course, on the physical side that a child with a weak heart should not be forced, and indeed should not be allowed, to engage in the more violent forms of exercise that are ordinarily excellent for normal children. He should, therefore, be examined occasionally by a family physician and in particular should be so examined before being sent away to school or college. In case, however, a physician finds him normal, the school or college should be allowed to follow its ordinary course with him. Though not generally recognized, the principle is equally binding on the intellectual side. A boy who has no particular intellectual gifts should not be goaded on into a college at all or into a college preparatory school. This is, of course, the most frequent way of deliberately courting failure. Any school or college teacher can cite hundreds of cases in which parents, forgetful of this principle, are forever nagging their son because he does not stand at the head of the class or take honors like Jim Smith, the neighbor's boy, when that expectation is totally unfair to him in view of his intellectual limitations, and they should be gratified and congratulate him upon having done his work conscientiously if he manages to stand anywhere near the average of his class.

The second question is of a different sort.

II. Can you get along with your child's other parent?

This question may strike parents unaccustomed to examination, even self-examination, as a trifle impertinent. It is not so intended. As a matter of fact, nearly all col-

leges that have studied this problem have discovered that as a class the children of nagging and divorced parents are far and away the least happy group and in general the least successful in making the normal and necessary adjustments to group life. Schoolmasters very frequently discuss this matter in private, and it would reduce problem and psychopathic cases if parents themselves did so more frequently. Two masters of schools which are fortunately able to restrict their enrollment recently told me that because they had had so much trouble with sons of divorce as a class, they were planning in order to improve morale in their schools to exclude such boys. This would, of course, not solve the problem and would be an additional act of cruelty toward a class already socially handicapped. Anyone familiar with divorce and its effects upon some children can, however, understand why harassed school teachers should, in distraction, occasionally consider such action. Anyone who wishes to carry this question back to its fundamentals will also remember that a boy's first loyalties are to his family. Out of the character of the life in his own home he derives his first notions of social allegiance. Father and mother are his earliest and most enduring patterns of social behavior. Where they can not agree, where they are forever squabbling and contending among themselves, his notions of what one owes to others and of what one has a right to expect from them are likely to be vitiated at their source. It is for this reason that through no inherent fault of his own he is likely to be less co-operative and become the lone-wolf type of unhappy boy.

The next two questions are rather closely allied and unfortunately not mutually exclusive.

III. Are you self-indulgent?
IV. Are you over-indulgent to your children?

After a little soul-searching some parents may find it necessary to answer both in the affirmative. It is necessary to ask III because schools, and this includes colleges, occasionally encounter persons who feel that their son or daughter exists only as a sort of consolation prize which life has given them. As they see it, their child's only place or purpose in the world economy is to make things easier for its parents, and it is one of the cruelest paradoxes that it is precisely these parents who deserve least thanks and sympathy who demand them most insistently of their children. I should ask the question, therefore, because there are parents, particularly mothers, who find that when they themselves have a slight cold or only a faint onset of boredom it is sufficient cause to call the son or daughter back from school, to provide company and solace. Children suffering under such a handicap cannot be expected to take their own purposes or college work as seriously as others who have been taught to understand that they have a place and function of their own in the world, which they must prepare themselves to occupy. Question IV on over-indulgence has to be asked because over-coddling of sons on the part of mothers sometimes results as we have seen in Chapter IX in making a "mama's boy" and "sissy" of a young lad. This is likely to make him unadaptable and unhappy in any group, in school or

later life. Even where the boy is blessed with sufficient good sense drawn from other than family sources, to resist excessive maternal solicitude, the mother with querulous pleas, requests and complaints is quite certain to make heavy drafts upon the limited time of advisers, teachers and administrative officers. Where they are called upon to satisfy any large number of such parents they must inevitably neglect the much larger number of young men who have been taught that degree of self-reliance which the school has a right to expect. To make the purport of this question clearer, it is perhaps necessary to ask as a sub-question,

(*a*) Have you self-sacrifice enough to remain away on occasions when not wanted or do you have to be told?

Such occasions would of course include times like the opening of college, particularly a man's college, and periods of club or fraternity elections during which the presence of an over-solicitous mother is likely to be an embarrassment to her son. American fathers are more apt to understand this and are likely to be over-indulgent only on the financial side. They frequently give their sons too much money and nothing else. As a sub-heading, more particularly for them, it is therefore proper to ask also,

(*b*) Are you willing to give time to your son, to write him an occasional letter or to come to the school or college if called upon?

Headmasters can tell of the unhappy plight of boys who

are made self-conscious by the fact that they have never received a letter from their fathers while at school, and even college deans can cite cases where, when a son was in serious difficulties, a letter to a father brought not even an acknowledgment.

The over-indulgent attitude, particularly of mothers, often begets a state of mind which makes another question necessary.

V. Can you trust any schoolmaster?

A parent who cannot do so, and there are such parents, should, of course, not entrust to any school or college the education of so precious a son. A boy cannot possibly be loyal to both his school and his family if the family are forever "knocking" the school, its officers and teachers, and dinning into him how incompetent and unfair all its processes are. Once parents have chosen a school or college for a son, they, as well as the boy, should remain loyal to that choice or, if that is impossible, they should have him withdrawn.

The next question falls under a slightly different head.

VI. Can you trust your son?

Parents who cannot are worse for the boy than no parents at all, and a detriment not only to the son but to the school or college. Many of them ask for confidential reports on a son's conduct, and there are extreme instances where they have hired outsiders to spy upon him. If you have allowed your relations with your son to reach this stage it is much safer to drop out of the picture altogether and leave him and his school to fight it out.

The next question is one which is highly important, since it involves a principle which strangely enough many parents do not understand.

VII. Can you get along with your son's friends?

The principle here involved is perhaps more frequently violated than any other. I realize that a boy's choice of friends is often unintelligible to his parents. They cannot understand what he can possibly find interesting about Jim Jones. They criticise Jim in his presence and explain in minute detail how much finer a fellow Reginald Safford is, especially if Reginald's family are more "socially prominent." Nothing makes a son more resentful or is more likely to vitiate his own relations to his family, for this is really a condemnation of the boy's own character, and where parents try to make him forsake the friend of his choice they are really asking him to overthrow much that is valuable in his own moral nature. Philosophers like the late Josiah Royce are, I believe, correct when they find in loyalty the central core of our morality. It is for this reason that the attempt to force a boy to forsake one of his chosen friends rarely succeeds and merely weakens his allegiance to the parents who are trying to prevail upon him to do so. If it does really succeed it is usually disastrous. A boy very frequently does not approve of everything that his friend does. He will often help him "in a pinch" where the friend has done something of which he thoroughly disapproves. I realize how troublesome a question this is to parents and how important proper associates are in school and college. A boy

should, however, always be encouraged to remain loyal to the friends that he has. Loyalty as we have indicated is transferable and, on the whole, the most precious moral possession of the young. They must, however, be allowed a certain freedom to exercise it in their own way and up to the limit of their own code. If there were any one general injunction which I should feel fairly safe in issuing, it would be, do not criticise your son's friends.

Though the next questions are not quite so important, I would ask them in the examination because the son's teachers or professors will discover the answers anyway, and it is better that they and the parents should know them sooner than later.

VIII. Is your home really a home or is it a "hush house" or a hospital?

Unfortunately in our time there are parents who have no home. They live in summer or winter hotels or on Mediterranean cruises. The son is likely by some subtle form of contagion to inherit this migratory instinct and will probably become a "week-ender." The situation is almost as bad where they do possess what might be called a home from the contractor's or real estate agent's standpoint only. If this is a place in which the young are forbidden to make a noise, where whistling is always a sin, and where the atmosphere is always what you might expect it to be if someone were sick in the next room, the son's allegiance to his home is likely to be weak and he will spend such free time as he may have in houses that are really more nearly homes or in places where the

regulations are less exacting and the privileges more extended.

The next question is closely allied:

IX. Do you share any hobbies with your son?

Headmasters and college officials sometimes find that there is no bond of understanding whatever between father and son. This makes it difficult for the parent to keep in touch with the boy, and the son rarely goes to his father for advice. They may both be deeply interested in each other. Such distance never exists where son and father play together or share a hobby. Where father, mother and son have read the same books (books in the choosing of which the son's preferences were consulted) they usually understand each other much better, and where father and son have a common workshop, make ship models together, for instance, or even have stamp or coin collections, or go off on fishing trips, a more profitable type of relationship has been created.

The next question is really so important and so frequently overlooked that in order to obtain a correct answer we must resort to what amounts almost to devious procedure.

X. (*a*) Have you any bad habits (such as smoking, drinking, gambling, bad temper, stinginess)? If so, what do you think they are?

(*a*) in any given case would be answered by the father. It would then have to be followed by

(*b*) What are they?

This complementary question would have to be answered

by the mother. In addition, the respondent should be instructed to frame his or her answer so as to include answers to the following as well.

(*c*) Do you try to hide them from your son?
(*d*) Do you believe he does not know them?

No matter what the boy's scholastic aptitude test may show, you are underrating his intelligence and preventing frank and sympathetic relations if you do not make a clean breast of it. If you are ashamed of these practices and do not wish to have him indulge in them you should yourself make the same effort to correct them that you expect of him.

The remaining three questions are less complicated.

XI. Do you frequently suspect your son of being abnormal?

This is altogether too frequent a parental fallacy. Parents should, of course, assure themselves, as has been indicated in Question I, of the relative physical and intellectual rating of the boy. Having done this, they should remember that the normal range of variation among boys is very wide and if he is really fit to be in school or college at all, the chances are overwhelmingly that in all human probability he is not abnormal but that in case his parents are forever suspecting that he is, he may become so.

XII. Do you believe your son is a genius?

In case you do, every headmaster and director of admissions that I know would advise you not to send him to school or college. The boy doesn't really need it and if

you do insist upon sending him on this assumption, the undiscriminating and heartless school or college will probably not agree with you.

XIII. Have you read many books on education and if so, which ones, and to what school of educational theory do you belong?

This last is really what boys in school call a "catch" question. It looks as though in case you answer yes it would be to your credit. As a matter of fact, as I see it, the chances of a boy's success in school or college would be more favorable if you had not read many books on education. This is one thing which you can safely leave to professional "educators." Certain parents, and this is always more particularly true of maternal parents, become so interested in educational theories that the son's important place in the process tends to become obscured. They are determined to prove some educational theory upon him and are more interested in this experiment than in having their boy roundly and soundly educated.

I have for purposes of simplification in nearly all cases used only the one word "son" to designate the child concerned. It is, however, one of the advantages of this type of test that it is reversible. "Daughter" can in every case be substituted for "son" and "mother" for "father" and it will still work equally well.

The examination as a whole would then read as follows:

I. Have you a fair idea of how your son stands in comparison to other boys, physically and mentally?

II. Can you get along with your child's other parent?

III. Are you self-indulgent?

IV. Are you over-indulgent to your children?

(*a*) Have you self-sacrifice enough to remain away on occasions when not wanted or do you have to be told?

(*b*) Are you willing to give time to your son, to write him an occasional letter, or to come to the school or college if called upon?

V. Can you trust any schoolmaster?

VI. Can you trust your son?

VII. Can you get along with your son's friends?

VIII. Is your home really a home or is it a "hush house" or a hospital?

IX. Do you share any hobbies with your son?

X. (*a*) Have you any bad habits (such as smoking, drinking, gambling, bad temper, stinginess)? If so, what do you think they are?

(*b*) What are they? (To be answered by the other parent.)

(*c*) Do you try to hide them from your son?

(*d*) Do you believe he does not know them?

XI. Do you frequently suspect your son of being abnormal?

XII. Do you believe your son is a genius?

XIII. Have you read many books on education and if so, which ones, and to what school of educational theory do you belong?

As examinations for parents are still in the experi-

mental stage, the reader will readily recognize that this one is far from perfect. Above all it is much too short. The parent who attempts to take it conscientiously will find many questions which in his own case can quite properly be added. It is designed merely to encourage him to indulge in a little more self-criticism than is prevalent. If with the help of this poor start he will cultivate such a habit, I am sure that like all better examinations it will teach him something not only to his own advantage but to the advantage of his son.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

A TIME BUDGET FOR THE STUDENT

When an adviser is trying to get at the root of some particular student's difficulties, he frequently asks him to write out as accurately as possible a schedule indicating how he spends the hours of his morning, afternoon and evening. Many undergraduates suffer from a lack of any orderly arrangement of their days. As they put it, "they cannot get down to work." In many cases everything they do is done in haphazard fashion and often they leave their most important work until after what should normally be bed-time when their minds work least effectively. This chaotic state of mind is of course a serious handicap and nothing is more helpful in correcting it and in overcoming inertia than the preparation of such a schedule and a determined effort to live up to it. Undergraduates can, of course, prepare such schedules for themselves, and for the great majority it will be found to be a considerable help.

We have emphasized the fact that undergraduates differ from each other as individuals, and that no one rule can be laid down which will cover all cases. Perhaps nowhere is the difficulty of making such a general prescription greater than in this matter of planning an ideal day, with a proper allotment of time for the student's various legitimate and necessary interests.

Many universities have studied this problem, but nowhere has it been done more thoroughly and helpfully than at the University of Chicago. There a joint committee of students and faculty members under the chairmanship of Professor H. A. Millis made a systematic investigation, gathered data from the students themselves, and drew up conclusions and recommendations. The study was, of course, undertaken with particular reference to conditions in that university. The result was a most interesting "Report of the Faculty-Student Committee on the Distribution of Student's Time" published by the University of Chicago Press, which runs to over a hundred pages. With the permission of Professor Millis, the following sections are offered as most helpful to the average student.

"The Committee is of the opinion that most of the undergraduate students devote too little time to study and especially to

serious reading. Study and serious reading are expected to constitute the student's day's work. While a large minority, because of necessity or because of a real educational interest, devote long, and some devote too long hours to study, a small but not negligible number have reported that they devote less than 25 hours per week to three majors,* preparation and class attendance combined, and roughly a third (34.3 per cent) of the men and almost two-fifths (39.3 per cent) of the women students in the Colleges have reported less than 35 hours per week as devoted to three courses. The average student, if the term 'average' may be used where there is the widest variation, spends about 12 hours per week per major. . . . Most of the students, in reporting, agree with the Committee that generally too little time is devoted to study. In general they feel that 13 hours per week per major would be fair.† The members of the faculty, on the other hand, would, as a rule, add an hour or two per week to this, so that the average student would be expected to spend 14 or 15 hours per week per major and from 42 to 45 hours per week on three majors. The Committee shares this faculty opinion. . . . At the same time the Committee is of the opinion that no capable student should be required to spend much more than 14 or 15 hours per week per major in order to make a satisfactory grade. Where much more time is required to make a fair grade, the requirements are too severe, or the student is not prepared for the course, or he is handicapped by poor ability, or, more likely, by poor methods of study. The Committee recommends that those students who find that excessive hours must be devoted to their courses should confer with the deans so that their cases may receive consideration and appropriate action. This is of especial importance where the difficulty lies not with the courses but with the student or his methods, for the manner in which time is spent in study is of more importance than how much time is spent. Every student owes it to himself to co-operate with his instructors and deans in an effort to develop the best methods of

*Professor Millis, Chairman of the Committee, explains what should constitute a normal schedule at the University of Chicago, as follows:

"The normal load for students at the University of Chicago is three majors. Junior College classes meet five days a week; Senior College classes, four days a week. A student may take four majors provided he has an unusually good record behind him."

†In rough and ready fashion it may be stated that in nearly all universities it is expected that the student will spend two hours of study in preparation for one hour of class recitation.

work in order that he may gain the ability to accomplish the most accurate work in a given amount of time, and the capacity for sustained effort. Here lies the essence of college training, except for the development of character and personality, which are not entirely unconnected with the ability and capacity referred to.

"That most of the students spend too little time on study is partly due to the values they bring with them to college. They all too frequently come with a set of valuations in which scholastic attainment or careful training finds little place. It must be recognized that many of the undergraduates are not seeking really good grades, and, more important, that a much larger number do not have as their objective the best command of the subjects studied to be realized by the wisest and most careful use of their time.

". . . The Committee feels that every student should participate in the activities and social life of the Colleges. It feels also that such participation should not be at the expense of the real business of the college, as it is in a considerable number of cases.

". . . Maintenance of proper classroom standards in respect to the amount and quality of work is of first importance and most effective in preventing things from getting too far out of line. . . .

"Turning to organized social affairs in the form of dances, teas, and the like (but excluding indoor games, concerts, theatre parties, movies and ordinary 'dates'), the Committee finds a situation calling for more general participation by undergraduates but for less extensive participation by a considerable number who are addicted to a 'social life.' . . . The Committee is of the opinion that it is a mistake for any college student to devote ten hours or more per week to dances, teas, and the like during term time. Half of ten is regarded as a reasonable maximum of time to be so used. The Committee is as emphatically of the opinion also, that unless there are important personal reasons, it is a mistake for a student to devote no time to such social affairs. The Colleges should continue and increase their efforts to make such provision as will bring the non-participating students out of their isolation and into formal social relations with their fellows.

"The student questionnaires do not reveal an extensive problem of excessive time devoted to motion-picture shows. Nevertheless they do indicate the presence of some 'movie fans.' After a certain point is reached, depending considerably on the type of pictures, the movie has distinctly less educational value than other things not difficult to locate in this particular University community. Though the time spent at the movies was, according to the re-

ports, distinctly less than that devoted to serious reading, the Committee regrets to find it almost as large as that spent at lectures, on art exhibitions, concerts, and the theatre all combined.

"All things considered, the Committee finds the religious activities and social-service interests of the student body comparatively satisfactory.

"The survey of student exercise shows a fairly satisfactory situation. Nevertheless, a problem is found in this connection, for some 5 per cent of the students are not engaged in athletics, or taking physical education, and report no time devoted to exercise in any form. Some of these of course get the needed exercise from gainful employment, but the percentage not gainfully employed and reporting no exercise in any form is only slightly under 5. Inasmuch as a sound mind in a sound body is the ideal thing, and inasmuch as good health is essential to success, rational exercise should be taken regularly by every student, however he may be circumstanced with reference to time. . . .

"The Committee has been interested in the relatively large numbers who report strain or complain of waste in connection with fraternity or club, chiefly due to rushing. Including those who made no reply to the inquiry relative to the matter, as well as those who did, almost a third of the students stated that they were living under strain. This is a significant fact. As specific causes assigned, gainful employment ranked first with 20.8 per cent, course requirements second with 20.6 per cent, commuting third with 12.7 per cent, 'too many things' fourth with 6.5 per cent, home responsibilities fifth with 4.2 per cent, and fraternity or club sixth with 3.2 per cent. As against this last percentage, athletics had a percentage of 1.7, dramatics and publications each 0.7 per cent. When it is held in mind that in more than nine cases in ten, fraternity or club was reported as cause of strain by fraternity or club members (as against pledges, etc.), and that in a large majority of these cases rushing was listed as the sole source of trouble, the above percentage becomes all the more significant. An important problem is found here. . . .

"In making the above suggestions and recommendations, the Committee has made use of a number of suggestions found in the questionnaires filled out by students. The suggestion most frequently made by the students was, however, the use of a so-called 'time budget.' This the Committee urges as valuable for adoption. Each student should make a time budget for his own guidance and protection. He should weigh alternatives, make a choice

as between them, and decide how much time he can afford for each. This will enable him to live and proceed more rationally. He should not drift. His obligations to himself and others are too great for proceeding without definitely planning his course of action.

"An inelastic, stereotyped time budget cannot be made to fit the needs of, much less be imposed upon, all college students. The Committee has no time budget to propose. Nevertheless, certain minima and maxima must find place in the student's own budget if his college life and experience is to bring good results. In the opinion of the Committee, these minima must find place in the budget:

(*a*) Study and class attendance, for the *capable* student, not less than 14 hours per week per major, carefully applied:
(*b*) Serious reading not directly connected with courses enrolled in for credit, not less than 4 hours per week;
(*c*) Physical education, athletics, exercise, according to habit and need, but not less than 1 hour per day and 7 hours per week, regularly taken;
(*d*) Lectures, concerts, theatre, art, the equivalent of an evening not less than 3 hours per week;
(*e*) Formal social affairs, dances, teas, etc., not less than 2 hours per week as an average;
(*f*) Religion, social-service work, or their equivalent in spiritual and moral training and growth, not less than 2 hours per week.

"Other good or necessary things must find their places in the budget. But in some cases, the Committee feels, maxima are in point.

(*a*) Dances, teas, and the like should not consume more than 5 hours per week in term time.
(*b*) Movies, "shows," attending games, indoor games (except as a form of exercise) should not consume collectively more than 6 hours per week.
(*c*) Activities should not be made a major interest, and gainful employment and all else should be disposed of in harmony with the real business of the college.

"If perchance the necessity of gainful employment or home re-

sponsibilities encroach upon the minima noted above, and especially upon the time available for study and serious reading, the number of majors enrolled in for credit should be adjusted to the exigencies of the case.

"And all things should be adjusted so that the amount of sleep required to restore one's energy and to keep him fit should be had. Whatever figure individual experience shows to be needed, whether it is more or less than or just 8 hours per day, should be taken as regularly as possible, for regularity of sleep and the conditions under which it is taken are quite as important as the amount. No item in the time budget is more important, and no item in one's use of time is more sinned against and so much in need of protection."

APPENDIX II

SELF-SUPPORTING COLLEGE STUDENTS*

By Dr. Walter J. Greenleaf

Associate Specialist in Higher Education

Nearly all colleges and universities in the United States make some provision for the student who must work his way through college. Results of a recent survey, reveal that 763 colleges and universities which keep records of this activity, estimate that 46 per cent of the men and 23 per cent of the women are earning part or all of their way through college. These institutions enroll 84 per cent of all college students in the United States. The small colleges that keep no records of self-supporting activities make general estimates that "a large number," "a high percentage," or "a great many" students are employed on the campus or in the town during term-time. Where student employment bureaus are established fairly accurate estimates are available.

The Educational Directory for 1928 lists 1,068 higher educational institutions with enrollments totalling 878,088 men and women students. In these colleges and universities about a half of the men and a quarter of the women are contributing to their own support by working part-time; about a fifth of the men and over a tenth of the women are entirely self-supporting. Self-help students earn approximately $33,000,000 annually. In analyzing these figures further, seven classes of institutions are considered: (1) coeducational institutions, (2) colleges for men, (3) colleges for women, (4) independent professional schools, (5) teachers' colleges, (6) colleges exclusively for negroes, and (7) junior colleges.

The 383 Coeducational Colleges and Universities enrolled 564,348 students in 1927–28 or 64 per cent of all college students in the United States. Of these students 49 per cent of the men and

*Extracted from bulletin, U. S. Bur. Educ. 1929, No. 2, "Self-Help for College Students," by W. J. Greenleaf.

26 per cent of the women were at least partially self-supporting and 22 per cent of the men and 14 per cent of the women earned their entire way through college by part-time work. Their total earnings amounted to $26,500,000—a conservative estimate. More students are working their way through the coeducational institutions than through any other type of college. Several conditions are favorable. One hundred and six of these institutions, including the State and municipal universities are publicly controlled and tuitions are uniformly low. Many of the students in coeducational institutions are older than the average college student. Both students and faculty favor a reasonable amount of employment. Employment is easily obtainable when institutions are advantageously located, as many are, in or near large cities, and with large student bodies to care for, a variety of services are necessary within the institutions themselves.

In 118 Men's Colleges that enroll 9 per cent of all college students, 30 per cent of the men are partially self-supporting and earn about $3,000,000 annually during term-time. Only 6 per cent, however, are entirely self-supporting. Many of the better known older colleges are included in this group. Tuition and living expenses in these colleges and universities are distinctly above the average, but large scholarship funds are made available by generous alumni and many loan funds are maintained for students who need to borrow. Most of these institutions provide student employment bureaus, personnel committees, counsellors, college agencies, modern methods of guidance for their students, and other aids which aim to serve in the development of the individual.

The 123 Women's Colleges enroll 7 per cent of all students in higher education. Of these women 15 per cent are employed during the college year and earn over $620,000. Only 2 per cent are entirely self-supporting. It is more difficult for a woman in a woman's college to find suitable employment than in a coeducational institution. Yearly expenses are larger and a few women's colleges look upon self-help with disfavor. However, changes in the conservative attitude of many institutions for women have been brought about in recent years. Student employment bureaus and vocational agencies have been established to assist students to find effective employment in several, while others are providing financial assistance through loans and scholarships. Over a million dollars in scholarships are awarded annually to women students in 64 of the women's colleges.

APPENDIX II

One hundred and fifty-seven Independent Professional Schools enroll 4 per cent of the college students in the United States. Three-quarters of the men and two-thirds of the women in these institutions are employed during the college year. Over half of the men and half of the women are earning their entire expenses. Total student earnings during term-time amount to $800,000. This group of schools includes 27 law schools, 91 theological seminaries, 15 medical schools, 12 schools of pharmacy, 6 dental schools, and 6 schools of osteopathy—all independent of any university. Most of the law students are regularly employed and many attend law classes in the evening. Theological students are frequently employed Sundays in the neighboring churches; their expenses are extremely low and tuition is usually free. Medical and dental students generally find little spare time for outside employment but depend upon vacation earnings, scholarships, and loans. Students in pharmacy are often able to work full time or part time on regular jobs, while those in osteopathy find somewhat less time for employment.

Teachers' Colleges (96 in number) enroll 10 per cent of all college students. Minimum expenses in these institutions average $335 which cover tuition, fees, board and room, and incidentals for nine months' residence. Over a fourth of the men and a sixth of the women are working during term-time, earning nearly $500,000 annually. About 11 per cent of the men and 4 per cent of the women are entirely self-supporting. These figures are lower than might be expected for the reason that many who drop out of school to teach for a year can save enough during this period to pay their expenses for the following year without part-time work. This plan is possible because the expenses in teachers' colleges are low.

The 36 Colleges for Negroes listed in the 1928 directory enroll 2 per cent of all college students. Expenses are low; average tuition is $65; board and room may be obtained at $163 (average); and $260 will pay all expenses in the average institution. When the schools are located in fair-sized communities, students find many opportunities in the homes of the town people and in the stores. Over half of the men and a fifth of the women earn $213,000 annually.

Junior Colleges offer the first two years of college work. Four per cent of all college students are registered in 155 junior colleges. Many of these institutions are publicly supported and form a part of the public school system in the larger cities. Some were

formerly private academies which have recently inaugurated two years of college work. Degrees are not given in these institutions, but a student may transfer his credits to one of the four-year colleges and continue his studies for two further years to obtain a degree. Many of the students live at home while in attendance and over four-fifths of the boys and two-fifths of the girls are employed during term-time. Fifteen per cent of the boys and 7 per cent of the girls are entirely self-supporting. Total student earnings last year amounted to $877,000.

Opportunities

Students are working at jobs and trades of all kinds characteristic of the community—automobile jobs, office jobs, specialty selling, semi-professional work, tutoring, printing and publishing jobs, public service work, transportation employment, hotel and eating house jobs, and a variety of odd-jobs too numerous to mention. Over 200 different types of employment for college students are listed. Some of the more original are making their own opportunities. Those gifted in color and design create artistic novelties and decorations which find ready sale among students and citizens. Talented students give lessons in music, bridge, golf, or are employed as entertainers, readers, soloists, and orchestra members to provide entertainment at dinners, dances, and parties. Probably waiting on table is the most popular employment of the self-help student. Usually a corps of student waiters or waitresses serve in the college dining halls at meal-time and are thus employed at a time that does not interfere with enjoyment of the scheduled college activities outside of the classroom. In some colleges window-cleaning has developed into a business. Other enterprises include suit-pressing, haberdashery, concessions, sandwich and pastry selling, hair cutting, coaching, tea-room management, sewing, and an endless list of miscellaneous occupations. In the average college town, demands are made for students to do housework, care for children, fire furnaces, shovel snow, make repairs, wash automobiles, tend switchboards, clerk in stores, assist in post offices, act as night watchmen, drive taxis and buses, work as motormen and conductors, care for buildings and grounds, and in fact for any type of work that does not require full time during daylight hours. Many men as well as women perform household tasks in the homes of the town people. New students, however, will find opportunities limited unless they have

made previous arrangements by correspondence with the student employment bureau or with the similar college agency which assigns jobs to students.

Self-help among college students is looked upon as a matter of course, and no question is made of the social standing of the self-supporting student. In a few of the women's colleges housework is looked upon with disfavor. In most institutions, opportunities are investigated before students are placed on the job and no ban is placed on honest employment. If a student needs to work his way and accomplishes the feat, he is given due credit and suffers no social stigma. The establishment of student employment bureaus on the campuses of the leading institutions and the assignment of faculty members in the smaller colleges for the purposes of finding suitable employment for students indicate that self-help is an accepted college activity for both men and women. Although brief space is given to this phase of college life in college catalogues, term-time employment is increasing annually. Doubtless in the future more students than ever will be compelled to contribute materially to their own support on account of the increased cost of living and of instruction. Many employers prefer college graduates who have earned a large portion of their college expenses, and many prominent men point with pride to the fact that they "earned their way."

Students who plan to enter college on slender means should first correspond with the Student Employment Bureau in the chosen college. This agency is able to advise applicants about the cost of a college education, and concerning scholarships and loan funds as well as to aid in securing part-time work. Colleges generally advise prospective students to arrive on the campus with enough money to pay the costs of the first semester in college. This means that a student should have in ready cash from $150 to $400 when he registers. With this money he may pursue his freshman studies with a sense of security until the middle of the college year when he should have gained a knowledge of local employment opportunities. The first year is the most difficult for the self-supporting student since his time should be devoted primarily to college studies in order to be well grounded for the courses that follow. When he is acquainted with the college and its environment, new and unthought-of financial opportunities will present themselves.

Scholarships and loan funds* available through agencies out-

*See U. S. Bureau of Education mimeograph on "Student Loan Funds."

side the colleges are now offered especially to juniors and seniors who are "either wholly or partially dependent on their own efforts in college." Those who are veterans of the World War (or blood descendants of veterans) will be interested in the La Verne Noyes Scholarships (2,500 Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Ill.) in 61 approved colleges. These scholarships pay tuition in part or in full.

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